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ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL EPIC

Since the publication of Joseph Bédier's *Légendes épiques* several prominent students of mediaeval literature, acting independently of one another, have expressed the opinion that the pattern, if not the actual predecessors, of epic composition in the vernacular might be found in the Latin poetry of the ninth and tenth centuries. W. Tavernier suggests mediaeval Latin poetry in general.¹ M. Wilmotte argues that the vernacular epic of the early period (around the year 1000) probably continued some of the traditions of Latin learned poetry.² J. Salverda de Grave, more specific than his colleagues, finds in certain historical compositions of the ninth century, such as Angilbert's *Battle of Fontenoy*, true progenitors of historical poems in folk-Latin, whose existence during the tenth century he considers probable. And they, in their turn, would beget the epic songs of the eleventh.³ So that each of these scholars would bridge over in about the same way the gap between the reigns of Charlemagne and his immediate descendants, when most of the events of the later epic poetry occurred, and the rule of Hugh Capet and William the Great of Aquitania, when these events first entered into rhythmical narratives.

Yet it may be allowable to apprehend the genesis of the French epic somewhat differently, and perhaps in so doing to gain an insight into its substance and purpose, an insight which the most searching

¹ *Archiv. f. d. St. n. S.*, CXXXI, 187-212.

² *Revue historique*, CXX, 241-88.

³ *Publications of the Amsterdam Academy*, 1915, Part I, pp. 464-515.

analysis of mediaeval Latin verse fails to give. For French heroic poetry, as it worked itself out in its best examples, took for its leading ideas three fundamental conceptions: zeal for religion, pride of race, and the personal relation of feudalism. Of these three ideas, two are fairly general, and have existed apart or together at various times and among different peoples. But the third, the peculiar valuation of the personal tie between vassal and suzerain, attains its growth only at certain periods of social evolution. In France this period seems to have been reached during the first half of the tenth century. Therefore we should not look for its expression in literature before that date, at the earliest.

But, as we know full well, this notion of the feudal tie is not essential to the production of epic poetry. The nations of antiquity had their epic without it. On the other hand, the emotion of pride of race, or patriotism, does seem essential. In France of the Middle Ages this emotion was mingled from the beginning with religious zeal, if literature is to be taken as a safe guide. Indeed, the latter sentiment seems to have been expressed before the other, possibly because of the fact that all the extant literature of the day is of clerical origin. Or it may be that Charlemagne's ideal of one universal Christian state, which should embrace all believers, overcame the feeling of patriotism with the more enlightened, a feeling quite separatist in its nature. At all events, whatever explanation may apply here, during nearly the entire ninth century while the French tongue was gradually fitting itself for its future calling, the authors on French soil were a unit in setting forth the merits of religious devotion. Their heroes were Christian heroes, not national patriots. With them Charlemagne stood pre-eminently as the champion of the faith, and his storied invasion of Spain in 778 was regarded as a holy crusade, set in motion to free the church of the Peninsula from infidel oppression.¹

Yet already even, not long after this characterization of the Spanish campaign was made—in a Life of Louis the Pious, around 840—another note was being feebly echoed. The Empire had fallen on evil days. Civil discord was wrecking Charlemagne's great structure, and national interests, blindly seeking to be satisfied,

¹ Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, IV, 440-46.

were perhaps having their share in the destruction. And it is in a censure of this discord, which was bringing ruin on the country, that we first find the trace of what may have passed for patriotism.

Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corbie near Amiens, and who died as abbot of the monastery in 865, undertook among other writings a biography of Abbot Wala, who had died at Corbie in 835. Appearing in the midst of the troubles of the century, this work takes occasion more than once to denounce the ambitions which were destroying state and church alike. Wala, it declares, was ever anxious for the welfare of the country as well as for the security of the Christian faith. Or, in Paschasius' words: "Unde ut erat iste [Wala] amore fervens circa Deum et circa religionem sanctam, circa propinquos sui generis et patriam."¹ And another passage expresses the same concern in behalf of folk and religion by the phrases, "circa patriam et ecclesias, circa proceres et magnatos, circa religionem et salutem populi."²

The exact modern equivalents for Paschasius' terms are, of course, not absolutely certain. He brackets *Deum* with *religionem sanctam* and *propinquos sui generis* with *patriam*. The meaning of the first set is self-explanatory, of the second tending toward that feeling which we now call patriotism, if not already there. In regard to religion he apparently prefers the concrete *ecclesias* to the abstract *ecclesiam*, and from this practice we should suppose that *patria* is also concrete in its application, and does not stand for a synonym of *res publica*. However this may be, and whether Paschasius' *patria* represents our present notion of "fatherland" or not, the spirit of the times was favoring the development of national feeling, and we are soon to meet with convincing evidence that patriotism vied with religious zeal in stirring French hearts under the weaker successors of Charlemagne.

Shortly after Wala's death the Norman raids began to prove a veritable scourge to the river valleys of Northern and Central France. Aiming at the churches, because of the reputation of their treasures, quite as much as at the wealth of cities, the Normans

¹ Pertz, *Scriptores*, II, p. 535, ll. 56, 57.

² Pertz, *op. cit.*, p. 556, ll. 45, 46. Similar expressions, which occur elsewhere, are "Pro amore patriae et populi, pro religione ecclesiarum et salute civium" (*op. cit.*, p. 552, ll. 3, 4), and "pro salute populi et patriae" (*op. cit.*, p. 554, l. 13 [cf. p. 555, ll. 36-38]).

ruined clergy and parishioners indifferently. They stopped commerce by making the highways unsafe, and so halted the local pilgrimages. They killed priests and burghers, monks and serfs without distinction of calling, and this common danger finally forced all classes to join with one another in mutual defense.

Resistance to the raids was often conducted by ecclesiastics. Indeed in the general breakdown of temporal power the church remained the most stable organization still standing. For the individual nobles could not be relied upon. They often proved to be self-seeking, careful of their own safety only, and would avoid the invader. Consequently we frequently find priests and abbots enlisting soldiers, naming leaders, even planning campaigns. And their activity was not at all illogical. For the enemy was not only an alien, he was also a heathen. Paschasius had already qualified his forays as "paganorum . . . incursiones."

Instances of this federation of church and people are plenty with the writers of the waning ninth century. Praise or blame are portioned out in due measure in their works to valiant or cowardly suzerains. Odo, count of Paris from 879, and afterward king of France (†898), is the more often commended. Charles the Simple (893-929), the rival of Odo's later years, the more often censured, if we may judge by the severe rebuke he received in 897 from the Archbishop of Rheims, for proposing an alliance to the Normans. And Louis III, whose short life and shorter reign (879-882) would have hardly been marked by posterity, acquired, on the contrary, immortality because he saved the abbey of St. Riquier from invasion. Even before his death, which followed shortly after his victory, he could have listened to the poet of the *Ludwigslied* exalting his piety and devotion to the Christian cause, while two centuries later these qualities of his, combined with his prowess in the fight, were to furnish the main inspiration for the epic poem of *Gormond et Isembard*.¹

The *Ludwigslied*, however, with all its eulogy of the monarch's faith, makes no appeal at all to patriotism, and perhaps the learned

¹ Salverda de Grave counts the *Ludwigslied* among the predecessors of the national epic (*op. cit.*, p. 505). Bédier, in a brilliant discussion of the problem (*Légendes épiques*, IV, 21-91), fails to find any evidence of historical continuity (from Louis' day) in *Gormond et Isembard*.

poetry of the time in whatever tongue, could we possess it in its entirety, would fail to recognize such a sentiment. Yet there is a document which refers to events of this period, and which probably dates, in its original shape, from these last years of the ninth century, that does disclose, bound in closest union, these emotions of religious zeal and racial pride. Besides, in expressing them it makes use of genuine poetical language. This document is the story of a campaign of King Odo against the Normans, in 893, and has been preserved in Richer's history, written at Rheims around the year 996.

Odo had wintered in Auvergne. On the approach of spring he was told that the Normans had broken into Aquitania, and were heading farther south, apparently for the rich shrine of St. Julian of Brioude. Assembling his men, he marched to meet them, and defeated them at Montpensier in two successive onslaughts. The second of these attacks was led, on the part of the French, by one of Odo's grooms promoted to standard-bearer, in default of the king's recusant nobles. The Norman chief was taken prisoner, was offered death or conversion, and chose the latter, though only to be killed at the baptismal font itself by this same commoner, who feared the Norman's revenge, should he regain his liberty. Christian fervor and pride of race animate the whole recital, while episodes and incidents of a truly epic flavor embellish its sentences.¹ Here is at least one witness to that religious and racial solidarity which was created—or perhaps merely confirmed—among the French by the Norman warfare of the ninth century. And it is given with fitting terms of artistic expression. Were it also characterized by the affirmation of the feudal tie, it could be distinguished with difficulty from a page of the later epic.

Unfortunately for our contention a second text of the kind is yet to be found among the works of the ninth and tenth centuries. For all that, we should not consider its absence a proof that it did not once exist. An event of the tenth century which bears no

¹ Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XXX (1915), 845-57. We are reminded of a somewhat similar incident on the eve of Caesar's conquest of Britain. His ships had drawn near the island, and his men were fearing to leave them, on account of the depth of the water, when the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion addressed his comrades with the words: "Desilite, . . . milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere: ego certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero." Whereupon he jumped overboard with the eagle, and all followed him at once to shore (*De Bello Gallico*, iv. c. 25).

relation to Viking forays, and is animated neither by a deep sense of religion nor yet by patriotism, nevertheless was kept alive for two hundred years by the community where it occurred, and in the form, original or acquired, of a rhythmical narrative. This event was the murder of William Longsword by his vassals, in 942. And the vassals' version of the affair continued to persist in the face of clerical opposition and the enmity of the chroniclers.¹

It must also be confessed that the Latin authors of the early eleventh century too are exceedingly sparing in allusions to what might have been songs of the Norman wars. Raoul Glaber of Auxerre, writing about 1040, circulates the report that the celebrated Viking, Hasting, of the ninth century, was in reality a Christian renegade, a serf from the vicinity of Troyes, whose craving for power had led him into the camp of the enemy.² Now this is what will be said not many years later of Isembard, in the poem of *Gormond et Isembard*. And not long before Glaber, a scribe of Angoulême, Adémar de Chabannes, connected the familiar epic incident of the stroke which cleaves at the same time armor and body with the surname of William Taillefer of Poitou (916-62). William's army would have fought a drawn battle with Norman raiders, and the decision would have been left to the fortunes of a single combat between the two leaders. In this fight William would have driven his very hard, short sword with one swing through both cuirass and breastbone of his adversary.³

In his efforts to account for the citation of historical personages by the poets of the national epic, Bédier reduces to five the number whose presence there he cannot explain. Among the five is Seguin of Bordeaux, whom Longnon had identified with a Count Seguin, who was killed by the Normans in 845. The identification does not appeal to Bédier,⁴ and yet the death of this particular ruler seems to

¹ Because Wace says he heard minstrels sing about this quarrel in his youth, Gaston Paris has named the vassals' version, represented by the minstrels, *La chanson de la vengeance de Riel* (*Romania*, XVII, 276-80). Philippe Lauer discussed the matter afterwards in his *Louis d'Outre-Mer* (*Bibliothèque de l'école pratique des hautes études*, No. 127), Paris, 1900, pp. 276-83.

² Bédier, *op. cit.*, IV, 56.

³ "Ense corto durissimo per media pectoris seculit simul cum torace una modo percussione."—Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, II, c. 28. Cf. Balst, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, XVI, 456, 457. Adémar was writing toward 1028.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 390, 391.

have vividly impressed itself on the population of the western provinces. A number of chronicles, extending over a long period of years, continue to record it. And the reason for this persistence may not be far to seek. For Seguin's fate was accompanied by the sack and burning of Saintes, and the treasures which the pirates carried away from the unfortunate town undoubtedly included the rich offerings to its shrines, if not their holy relics.¹

Something also which hints at the existence of heroic poetry based on the Norman raids may be derived from existing texts of the national epic itself. *Gormond et Isembard* is confessedly the echo of such a raid, whether a late fabrication out of local legends, or the last of a series of poems on that event. It is inspired also by the related sentiments of religious zeal and racial pride, which we have supposed the Viking invasion crystallized in France, and it undoubtedly owes its origin, whether early or late, to the gratitude of some devotee of the abbey of St. Riquier, which had been saved by the victory, a combination of attributes which makes the rejection of the seductive idea, that the original poem formed a French counterpart to the *Ludwigslied* quite difficult.

On the other hand, the *Chanson de Guillaume*, which lacks a known historical background and assumes the outward appearance of a song against the Saracens, contains unmistakable marks of the Norman inroads. The first part of it, on the early exploits of Vivien, in topography and names clearly derives from stories of the Viking terror. From allusions in the poem we learn that Vivien had formerly despoiled a Hun of his shield, had killed the pagan, Alderof, and had

¹ The chronicles in question tell of the disaster in these words: "Allo anno Siguinus, comes Burdegalensis et Sanctonicensis, a Normannis captus et occisus est, et Sanctonas a Normannis concremata est, thesauris ejus obtinimis exportatis."—Bouquet, *Recueil*, VII, 222, or Adémar de Chabannes, *Chronicon*, iii, c. 17.

Another of Bédier's five, Rispeu of Brittany, could also have been bequeathed to the later epic by popular tradition. For he came to a tragic end (in 857) not at the hands of the Normans, like Seguin, but by the treasonable daggers of his own vassals, as William Longsword was to do. And to make the murder the more striking, Rispeu's vassal was a kinsman who profited by his deed to usurp the crown. Such a pitch of villainy could not fail to strike every imagination, and consequently we are not at all surprised to find it a constantly recurring entry in the annals of the Loire Valley for the next two centuries. Perhaps the severest denunciation of the crime was expressed by an admirer of Bishop Hérard of Tours (1869): "Postea autem in tertio ordinatio[n]is suec [Hérard's] anno Salomon, nepos Nomenoi, cupiditate magna ductus, Herispogium regem cognatum suum furtive aggrediens, ut iniquus et dolosus interficit; arripiensque coronam capit[is] suo imposuit."—Bouquet, *Recueil*, VII, 51¹. In favor of a popular tradition, however transmitted, would be the form "Rispeu," for Herispogius of the chronicles.

decapitated Borel's twelve sons, all at one and the same battle of the Gironde.¹ Now the Huns had ravaged Central France in the second quarter of the tenth century, but had seen their power broken by Otto I, in 955. A certain Borel was count of Barcelona from 967 to 993, but he was a Christian and had waged almost continuous warfare with the Saracens, so that here there may be an inversion of rôles due to confusing all Spaniards with Saracens. Consequently the net result of these particular references makes for uncertainty.

Other allusions to Vivien's early battles, however, are more definite. He had carried on war along the English Channel, in Kent and near Tréguier, and had met the enemy at Fleury, on the Loire.² By the Rhone, under Orange, he had also conquered "Tiedbalt, l'Esturman" (Thibaut, the Pilot), in a fight which remained famous.³ And these deeds were now to culminate in the fatal conflict of Larchamp, a locality situated to the north of the Gironde and to the west of Bourges, so that an army coming down from Bourges found it "desur la mer a destre" (l. 151). The foe also arrived there from Spain by ship, instead of marching overland as the Saracens of history would do in their invasions of Western France.⁴ Besides, a battle on the west coast fought by William of Orange remained tenacious in tradition, while two of his barons in *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans* are still Gautier of Blaye and Hunaud of Saintes, localities quite remote from Orange—or Barcelona.

These indications are few in number, to be sure, and their meaning is not always plain.⁵ They are also widely scattered. Yet they nearly all look toward the same locality—exception being made for Vivien's combat with Thibaut—to the coast and river valleys of France which lie between the Somme and the Gironde. And their general tenor is the same. So that taken collectively they supplement one another fairly well, and seem to warrant the belief that the Norman forays into Northern and Central France during the

¹ Suchier's ed. (*Bibliotheca Normannica*, VIII), II. 376-79, 643-46.

² *Op. cit.*, II. 653-55, 991-93; cf. also pp. xxx-xxxix, xl, of the Introduction.

³ *Op. cit.*, II. 669-78. Both name and calling point clearly to the enemy's race.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II. 16-20, 39-46. See R. Weeks, *Mod. Phil.*, II, 8, n. 3; Suchier, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. lii-livi, lxii, lxiv.

⁵ They should be increased by a passage from the *Enfances Vivien*, where W. Schulz finds the echo of a Norman raid in the west (*Zeitschrift f. fr. Sp. und Lit.*, XLIV [1916], p. 40).

last half of the ninth century and the first third of the tenth, continually repeated and usually fraught with the sack of shrines and slaughter of the common people, aroused and solidified with the French their latent sense of religious and racial unity. The expression of this unity in the mother tongue was not long delayed, an expression that probably assumed the form of half-historical, half-lyrical narratives, into which speedily entered some of the romantic episodes which afterward appear in the poems of the national epic.

These narratives, however, could have had little connection with one another. Their constant theme of Christian faith and pride of birth constituted perhaps their sole bond. The events they would celebrate would be the story of some petty resistance, the praise of the hero of a day, the deliverance of a neighborhood sanctuary. And though they would naturally conform to the same general style of composition, since they were the products of one and the same race at a certain period of its development, and more immediately of a set of writers trained along the same lines, yet, because of their sporadic origin, they would lack all consciousness of interrelationship, and they remained perhaps in entire ignorance of one another—certainly isolated from the other specimens of their kind.

But as to the Latin historical poetry of this generation, or generations, even that part of it which rejoiced over Christian victories, we can hardly believe that it served as model for these rhythms of the people. At the most it may have been their learned accompaniment. For the scattered instances of picturesque incident and romantic detail, which we glean from the sentences of the chroniclers and the allusions to the youthful exploits of Vivien, correspond in no particular to the rhetorical manner of Carolingian verse. Nor, in considering the derivation of our supposed songs against the Normans, should we once dismiss, as without bearing on the matter, the fact that out of these half-dozen assumed survivals, the legends of Vivien's prowess, of William Taillefer's duel, King Odo's campaign in Auvergne, and Seguin's death at the burning of Saintes were all borne in mind and handed down by the inhabitants of the territory which lies between the Loire and the Gironde, the land which was soon to cradle the literature of France.

Now if there actually did exist within this region and to the north of it, during the first half of the tenth century, rhythmical narratives of Norman inroads, narratives that with all their provincial flavor and artistic leanness, still represented ideals which were cherished by a whole people, and that were based on material which was colored by poetical fancies—as was the case with the story of Odo or William Taillefer—then their presence at this time and in this region would go far to explain the sudden rise of the French national epic, the epic against the Saracens. For it was sudden. The Santiago pilgrimage, seemingly its exciting cause, did not assume even a moderate importance before the last decades of the tenth century. And yet by the third decade of the eleventh the national epic had received its frame, its topography had been fixed, and Charlemagne had been drafted from his conquests of the East and South to lead barons whose names are mainly strangers to the annals of history on a holy crusade against the Moors of Spain. Two generations only had been sufficient to compass this astonishing result. And with whatever rapidity the mind of man may have worked during this period, a wonderful period in truth, and one marked by a genuine rebirth of commerce, art, literature, and religion, so perfect a fusion of history with legend seems almost beyond belief.¹

But if we could assume that older compositions than those we now possess had already formulated the related notions of religious faith and racial pride, had illustrated them with tales of real events, had touched them though ever so lightly with romantic fancy, and had fashioned however rudely acceptable methods of narration, then we could understand to some degree how the songs of the wars of Charlemagne and his barons gained headway so quickly. The general theme would be retained. The enemy of France would still be a foreigner and an unbeliever. But the infidel of the South had now displaced his ally of the North, a substitution all the more welcome because he of the North had become in fact a brother in arms and in creed.

The new epic pivoted on the figure of Charlemagne, for reasons which Bédier's brilliant pages have made familiar. Yet perhaps

¹ Wilmette would place the formation of the national epic back toward the middle of the tenth century (*op. cit.*, p. 273).

one question still remains open, the question why the choice of Charlemagne was made at this particular time, why at the end of the tenth century his commanding presence was necessary, why the crowd of individual champions of Christianity should be rallied to his standard and their occasional and spasmodic acts of mere resistance be converted into a steady, consistent war of aggression. Is the rise of the pilgrimage to Santiago alone a conclusive answer? Was life on this frontier of Christendom during these years affected by nothing else which may have contributed to the appropriateness of such a selection?

For some decades before the year 1000 the road to Santiago had been in Christian hands, and only occasionally exposed to raids that were dangerous to the pious wayfarer. The Moslem states which bordered it offered no especial menace, divided and weakened as they were by futile rivalries. But when toward 980 a great general appeared at the head of the forces of the Caliph of Cordova, the whole situation of Northern Spain was changed. Gathering the armies of the rival rulers under his sole leadership, Almanzor, rightly surnamed, quickly overran the Christian kingdoms, seized Barcelona on the east, pillaged Compostela on the west, and finally drove over the Pyrenees themselves. In the opposite camp no chief could be found to cope with this powerful adversary. And it may be that because of this deep need and because of this distress devout souls were stirred up to find a remedy, if not in fact then in imagination. And it is possible that thus seeking for escape from the burden of actual defeats, some downcast monk of the Santiago road caught then and there the fortunate inspiration of invoking the shade of Charlemagne. And so the great emperor would have been summoned from his tomb to unite again the Christian hosts for victory. A vision of despair may have suggested the idea, or a sorrowful heart seeking consolation in the glorious records of the past.¹

Whether such a view is essential or not to the full explanation of Charlemagne's overlordship in the national epic, the earliest glimpse we can gain of that epic shows him already in command. The Hague *Fragment*, admittedly a Latin reworking of a Romance text,

¹ Cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, IV, 383, 384, where something like the opposite of this notion is expressed.

tells us of the siege of a Saracen town actively conducted by barons who belong to what is known as the William of Orange group, but who are subject to the Emperor's general direction. He himself does not appear in person in the section preserved, and may have been only a figure-head in the whole poem. One of the Saracens is Borel, whom we found in connection with Vivien, and it is noticeable that he is again given out as old, and that he loses a son in the fight, as he had lost twelve to Vivien. The action, so far as can be seen, is simple. The taking of the town is the goal. The episodes are so many individual combats. Any complicated plot seems wanting, and indeed the early date of the original—the first third of the eleventh century¹—probably precludes any notion of a developed plot.

Our next example of the national epic, the fragment of *Gormond et Isembard*, also presents a simple action, though we are now near the end of the eleventh century—the fragment dating from the early twelfth. Challenges it offers in plenty, protestations, affirmations of belief, outbursts of national pride, combats—quite certain indications of the entire contents. The *Chanson de Guillaume*, which in its first form may be contemporary with *Gormond et Isembard*, or even older, agrees with it in the simplicity of its plot, although in the oath of Vivien it contains the germ of a tragedy, and in its episode of the cowards it approaches genuine drama. But the oath theme is not yet developed, and what is said of the cowards may have passed for simple satire. Consequently, in spite of the abundance of its dialogue and its numerous descriptions, we are apparently in the first stage of epic composition still.

But it should be said that in one important particular the *Chanson de Guillaume* and *Gormond et Isembard* differ from the Hague *Fragment*. Their heroes are not placed under the direction of Charlemagne. The suzerain of *Gormond et Isembard* is Louis, "son of Charles," and designated indifferently as emperor or king. Vivien's suzerain in the *Chanson de Guillaume* is Thibaut of Bourges. Charlemagne is mentioned quite incidentally, and only by the reviser at that.² In other words, of the three pioneer works of the French

¹ Bédier thinks the Latin version may be as early as 1040 (*op. cit.*, IV, 452).

² In the lines,

Criet Munjole: co fut l'enseigne Charle. [l. 329.]
De Charle Maigne, de Rollant sun nevou. [l. 1270.]

national epic, two have successfully resisted incorporation into the historical framework of that epic, a fact which may perhaps be adduced as further testimony to their independent origin and early development. They would have already attained sufficient strength, by the time the idea of Charlemagne's overlordship was accepted, to withstand its centralizing tendency. Yet such a notion, that *Gormond et Isembard* had reached its majority as a poem of the Norman wars before the Emperor's tutelage was generally invoked, begs the question of its genesis. The early growth of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, or more strictly speaking the Vivien section of that poem, would not encounter this objection.

Still we should not conclude on this account that the Hague *Fragment* is the only eleventh-century representative of Charlemagne's legendary triumphs. Another record of that day may be brought forward in its support. The Spanish campaign of 778 seems to have found an almost immediate entry into annals which now bear the name of the monastery of Lorsch, near Darmstadt. Toward the year 840 a copy of these annals was made for the abbey of Moissac in Southern France, in the department of Tarn-et-Garonne. Copy and original alike rehearse Charles's invasion of the Peninsula, his capture of Pampeluna, the submission of Ibitaurus, the Saracen king, and his surrender to the invader of brother and son as hostages. The army of the Franks then advanced as far as Saragossa, only to be recalled from before that town by the news of a revolt among the Saxons. But nothing whatever is said about a fight on its return over the Pyrenees.¹

Now around 1030, or before, for the last date given is 1017 and the last king of France mentioned is Robert the Pious who died in 1031, the Moissac copy underwent a pietistic revision, which incidentally affected the account for 778. No change at all was made until after the word *moraretur*. Then we meet with this addition: "commissum est bellum fortissimum die dominica. Et ceciderunt Saraceni multa milia. Et de ora nova factus est sol ora secunda. Et iterum (Saxones, etc.)".² Still no mention of Roncesvalles.

¹ "Congregans Karolus rex exercitum magnum, ingressus est in Spaniam et conquisivit civitatem Pampelonam. Et Ibitaurus Sarracenorum rex venit ad eum et tradidit ei civitates quas habuit et dedit ei obsidem fratrem suum et filium. Et inde perrexit ad Caesaraugustam. Et dum in illis partibus moraretur, Saxones, perfida gens. . . ."—Pertz, *Scriptores*, I, 296.

² Pertz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 262.

As we know, the story of Ganelon's treason and Roland's death is given a certain amount of historical setting. The first lines of the *Chanson de Roland* tell of Charles's stay in Spain, seven years, and his conquest of all the land excepting Saragossa. Also of the submission of the Saracen ruler of that town and his proffer of hostages, including a son of one of his counselors, Blancandrén. Then the catastrophe of the Pass is staged, after which Charlemagne returns to take a vengeance which is made all the more thorough by the stopping of the sun at his prayer. A comparison of this outline with the details of the revised Moissac manuscript only emphasizes the agreement of the two records. In *Roland* the "delay" in Spain has been extended to seven years, but this extension is more than counterbalanced by the unaccountable failure of the author of *Roland* to place the miraculous battle on a Sunday.¹

The Moissac revision and the Hague *Fragment* may both come within the boundaries of a single decade, and at all events are not far removed from each other. Consequently we may infer from their joint witness that, by 1030, legend had already expanded the Spanish campaign of 778 so as to make it include at least one battle which was not recorded by authentic history. By the end of the eleventh century the time thus extended had grown to seven years, as the statement in *Roland* shows. This elasticity has an obvious advantage. For, once allowed, any combat or series of combats could be fathered on the soil of Spain, provided the inventors of these fights observed the limits of Charlemagne's presence there, limits fixed on the one side by his entrance into the Peninsula, and on the other by the great struggle that the miracle of the sun prolonged. Within this designated space poetic imagination could run riot. That it availed itself of the opportunity is seen from the epic poems of the twelfth century.

So the new epic, the epic of Charlemagne, would have created to a great extent its own history. It used a setting of fact, and filled it in with imaginary events. But its inspiration and its material were in large part bequeathed to it by the older epic, the

¹ Cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIX (January, 1914), 3, 4. The notion of treachery on the part of the Saracens was probably known to the readers of the Moissac revision. Otherwise they could hardly have understood a battle on a holy day, and prolonged in Charles's favor by a miracle, after the Saracens had apparently yielded to the Emperor's demands.

inspiration of faith and patriotism, the material of romantic episodes, descriptions of fighting, poetic ornamentation. It probably continued also the old forms of narration, while improving on them. But it differed from its forerunner in acknowledging a common bond of union and another purpose. The bond was the Emperor. The purpose was conquest. The Christians of France, who had once stood dismayed before the raids of sea pirates, offering to them only an occasional effectual resistance, now flocked to the standard of Charlemagne, with a firm determination to win glory for their race and territory for their creed.

The new epic also acquired in time a new and dramatic element. Eulogies of lineage and belief, uniform, constant, must have become conventional after a while. Speeches and combats, however varied, could be foreseen. Change the actors as you would, their parts differed little. Could we know the entire poem of which the Hague *Fragment* is only a section, there is little doubt that we should find its tenor essentially like the substance of the whole epic of *Gormond et Isembard*. And what we possess of the latter discloses little advance in quality over Richer's account of Odo's campaign against the Normans. In the new epic sieges would have been introduced, the partisan leaders of the older poetry would have been promoted to the post of barons of the Empire. There would have been a general expansion of theme, an increase in quantity. But as vernacular literature developed and acquired artistic aspirations, such a growth in mere size could have satisfied only for a while. The poets would soon seek other sources of interest. To refinement of expression they would try to link subtlety of sentiment, and retaining the traditional emotions of religion and patriotism, which were universal, they would enhance them at times by an emotion which would be individual. And this emotion they could find in one of the chief traits of French feudalism, the personal tie between vassal and suzerain.

Actual occurrences may have suggested this enlargement of the epic theme. We have seen that the vassals' side of the circumstances attending the death of William Longsword had survived nearly two centuries in the memory of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of all learned testimony. The duke's vassal,

Riul, had surrendered his own father at his suzerain's behest, and this father, William had blinded. Let a like situation enter into epic verse and the simple action of the older poetry vanishes. Complexity takes its place. A plot may then be built up, of which the hearer cannot anticipate the solution. For the outcome no longer hinges on the promptings of general emotions, it must vary with the uncertain waverings of the human mind. With some natures expediency might prevail; with others, revenge; with still others, honor. Any especial feeling which would sway a man's acts could be aroused by this appeal to his individuality.

Consequently the spirit of heroic poetry was inevitably transformed. The analysis of the possible bearings of the personal tie between vassal and suzerain surely led to the idea that man could shape his own fate and could by his own free choice make or mar his own fortunes. Before this discovery the conventional formulae of the older epic were bound to give way. No longer could virtue be foreordained to triumph over vice, the French Christian to overwhelm the Moslem Saracen. For the exercise of some human attribute, however trifling, would always suffice to turn the scale. And when in the process of this exercise a course was elected which decided not only the destiny of an individual but the welfare of those also with whom he was associated, then the results of that election could assume tragic proportions. Such was the consequence of Roland's *desmesure*, of Vivien's fidelity to the oath of his knighting. And the full acceptance of this idea, that the will of man can rise superior to man's environment and dominate it, marked the culmination of French epic poetry.¹

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¹ This stage was probably reached near the end of the eleventh century, and shows itself soon afterward in its best, if not its earliest, exponent, the *Chanson de Roland*. The potential consequences of Vivien's oath did not seem to have been grasped at that time, nor were they as yet fully appreciated by the scribe of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, their first known narrator. (For the influence of *Roland* on his text, see M. Willmette, *Romania*, XLIV, 55-86).

We might again question whether one of Caesar's episodes did not affect this notion of an oath taken in view of the enemy. Vercingetorix had assembled the cavalry of the Gauls—their nobility—to resist the Romans, and harangued them so eloquently that they took an oath not to return home before they had ridden twice through Caesar's battle line: "Conclamant equites: sanctissimo jurejurando confirmari oportere, ne tecto recipiatup, ne ad liberos, ne ad parentes, ad uxorem aditum habeat, qui non bis per agmen hostium perequitasset." But they were defeated and fled the field (*De Bello Gallico*, vii. c. 66, 67).

FRANCESCO GRISELINI AND HIS RELATION TO GOLDONI AND MOLIÈRE

The name of Francesco Griselini will be sought for in vain in most histories of literature and encyclopedias. If he is mentioned at all, it is in connection with his biography of Fra Paolo Sarpi, which appeared in several editions of the *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* from 1760 on, and attracted so much attention that it was put on the Index;¹ this is, with very few exceptions, the only work by Griselini that can be found in American libraries. Yet in his day he was a writer of some prominence. He was born in Venice in 1717 and died in Milan in 1783. From 1765 to 1776 he edited in Venice the *Giornale d'Italia*, contributing to it many articles on science and agriculture. In 1768 he began the publication of a *Dizionario delle arti e de' mestieri*, of which he compiled five volumes.² He was a member of numerous academies, including those of London, Berne, Gorizia, Florence, and Bologna. His brief excursion into the field of the drama is the occasion of the present paper. While undoubtedly a mediocre writer, he does not quite deserve the oblivion into which he has fallen; some scholar having access to the archives of Northern Italy might well make a thorough study of his career. In 1890 an essay of 35 pages, which in spite of repeated efforts I have not been able to procure, was published about him by Domenico Maddalena, at Schio; and S. Rumor published in 1907 a brief sketch of his life, with a bibliography of his writings.³

In 1752 Griselini published a critical essay on Italian comedy;⁴ in 1755 a tragic-comedy entitled *Socrate filosofo sapientissimo*, with

¹ See G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica* (Venezia, 1840-61), XCII, 467-72; Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Firenze, 1805-10), VII, 502-7.

² This work was continued by others, and completed, with Vol. XVIII, in 1778. There is a copy in the Yale Library.

³ Sebastiano Rumor, *Gli Scrittori vicentini dei secoli decimottavo e decimonono*, II, 85-92, in "Miscellanea di Storia Veneta, R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria," serie seconda, tom. XI, parte II. The bibliography is not absolutely complete; the British Museum Catalogue contains several additional titles. See also E. A. Cogno, *Saggio di bibliografia Veneziana* (Venezia, 1847), Nos. 1497, 3230, 3759-64, 3854, 4441-44; G. A. Moschini, *Della Letteratura Veneziana del secolo XVIII* (Venezia, 1806), III, 207; IV, 121.

⁴ *Della commedia italiana e delle sue regole ed attinenze considerate in riferimento al secolo nostro*. . . . See S. Rumor, No. 3.

an essay on Aristophanes' *Clouds*,¹ and in 1756, *La Schiava nel serraglio dell' Agd de' Giannizzeri, commedia turca*.² These works are completely forgotten; but another play, *I Liberi Muratori*, is frequently mentioned in connection with Goldoni's *Le Donne Curiose*. It was printed at Roveredo in 1754.³ The title-page gives the names of the author and of Goldoni, to whom the comedy is dedicated, in anagram; it also gives the place of printing as Libertapoli, the name of the city which the Masons proposed to build in the Libyan Desert.⁴ This title-page has been quoted inaccurately so many times that it is worth while to present it here in a photographic reproduction, together with the engraving which faces it (representing the lodge). See pp. 20-21. It will be observed that the anagram "Ferling' Isac Crens" turns into "Francesc' Griselin." The *o* of Francesco is supplied in the form given in the dedication on p. 3:

Al celebre, magnifico, ed illustre signore Aldinoro Clog primo introdotore del buon gusto nel teatro comico, diletto delle muse, e d' Arcadia filologo, e giurisperito chiarissimo, onore e decoro della letteraria repubblica, questa commedia composta l' anno MDCCCLII. Isaac Ferlingo Crens in segno di venerazione e rispetto dedica, e consagra.

The name of the author is usually given as Griselini, the form indicated by the anagram, but sometimes as Grisellini or Grisselini. Cantù⁵ gave the anagram as "Fersing Isac Crens," asserting that it corresponded to "Francesco Grisellini," which it does not; and he furthermore misread the place of printing as "Libertinapoli." These errors are repeated by G. Mazzoni,⁶ while S. Rumor⁷ has "Fersing," "Grisselini," and "Libertanopoli."

Why Griselini disguised his name in this way is not evident, unless he deemed it safer not to be known as a defender of Free-

¹ Rumor, No. 5; British Museum Catalogue.

² Rumor, No. 6.

³ Rumor, No. 4. There seems to have been another edition: G. B. Pellizzaro, "Ancora sulle 'Donne Curiose' di C. Goldoni," in *Rivista teatrale italiana*, XVIII (1914), 193-212, 280-91, states (p. 193) that a copy in the Marciana is dated falsely 1785; but P. L. Jacob, in the Catalogue of the *Bibliothèque dramatique de M. de Soleilne* (Paris, 1843-45), IV, 95, mentions the edition of 1785 as having 87 pages, while the 1754 edition has 110.

⁴ See Act IV, sc. viii, p. 82: "Diconsi Muratori, perchè hanno formato il gran progetto di edificare negli aridi deserti della Libia una Città vastissima, la quale di Libertapoli dovrà portare il nome."

⁵ Cesare Cantù, *Gli Eretici d' Italia* (Torino, 1866), III, 417.

⁶ Guido Mazzoni, *Memorie di Carlo Goldoni riprodotte integralmente dalla edizione originale francese* (Firenze, 1907), I, 467.

⁷ Rumor, No. 4. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni* (New York, 1913), p. 611, gives the date as 1652.

masonry. His purpose in claiming that his play was written in 1752, was apparently to establish its priority over Goldoni's *Le Donne Curiose*, which was written, performed, and printed in 1753.¹ Goldoni does not refer directly to Freemasonry, either in the play itself or in its preface; years later, however, he stated in his *Mémoires* that his intention was, as the spectators at once recognized, to represent a Masonic lodge.² In this connection there has been some discussion as to whether he himself was a Mason, whether he undertook to defend the order for the sake of some friends (Casanova and others) who were members of it, or, finally, whether he simply took the subject, in combination with satire on feminine curiosity, as suitable material for a comedy. There is no direct evidence to guide us.³ Griselini claims on his title-page to be "fratello operajo della loggia di Danzica"; but he does not indicate in his dedication, as he surely would have done if it had been the case, that Goldoni also was a Mason. *Le Donne Curiose* and the *Mémoires* fail to give any definite ground for making the assumption. Freemasonry, in spite of being condemned by two popes,⁴ was established in various parts of Italy in the middle of the eighteenth century. Goldoni seems to have given a friendly satire of the institution and of popular curiosity concerning it, rather than a defense,⁵ and in fact it does not seem to have been taken very seriously.⁶ Griselini's comedy is far more definitely a defense of Masonry, at least in showing that it was

¹ See E. Masi, *Scelta di Commedie di C. Goldoni* (Firenze, 1897), I, 455-61; Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni*, p. 611.

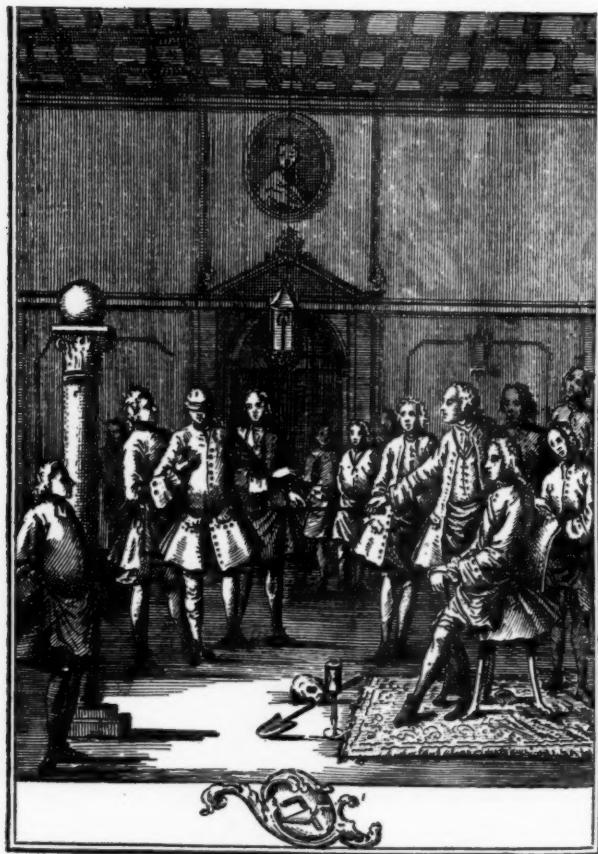
² *Mémoires de C. Goldoni*, ed. Mazzoni, I, 381-82: "Pièce qui, sous un titre bien caché, bien déguisé, ne représenteoit qu'une loge de Francs-Maçons. . . Les Etrangers en reconnoissent le fond sur-le-champ, et les Vénitiens disoient que si Goldoni avoit deviné le secret des Francs-Maçons, on auroit tort en Italie d'en défendre les assemblées."

³ E. Maddalena, "Nota storica" in *Opere complete di C. Goldoni edite dal Municipio di Venezia*, IX (1910), 369-71, inclines to the opinion that Goldoni was a Mason; so also Masi, *op. cit.*, p. 460; Falchi, *Intendimenti sociali di C. Goldoni* (Roma, 1907), p. 122; A. Neri, "Carlo Goldoni e i liberi muratori," *Rivista Europea*, XXVI (1881), 790-98 (reprinted in his *Aneddoti goldoniani* [Ancona, 1883]). For the history of Freemasonry in Italy and the persecutions of its members, see F. Sbigoli, *Tommaso Crudeli e i primi Fratramassoni in Firenze* (Milano, 1884) (reviewed by Saitini in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, quarta serie, XVII, 111-23).

⁴ Clement XII (1738) and Benedict XIV (1751). See Cantù, *op. cit.*, p. 398; Pellizzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Neri, *loc. cit.*; Sbigoli, *op. cit.*

⁵ Cf. Pellizzaro, *op. cit.*, p. 209; and an essay which I have not seen, "Il Goldoni e la Massoneria," in F. Beneducci, *Scampoli critici*, III (Oneglia, 1906).

⁶ Cf. A. Graf, *L'Anglomania e l'influsso inglese in Italia nel secolo XVIII* (Torino, 1911), p. 137. A German critic goes so far as to doubt that Goldoni had Freemasonry in mind at all (R. Schmidbauer, *Das Komische bei Goldoni* [München, 1906], p. 126).



I LIBERI MURATORI.
COMMEDIA
DI
FERLING' ISAC CRENS
FRATELLO OPERAJO DELLA
LOGGIA DI DANZICA.
DEDICATA
AL CELEBRE ED ILLUSTRE SIGNORE
ALDINORO CLOG
AUTORE
COMICO PRESTANTISSIMO.

IN LIBERTAPOLI, PRESSO dell'Era Volgare 1754.,
e della ristorazione della Loggia 153.

a perfectly harmless association for mutual benefit, the secrecy of which is rather amusing than dangerous. There is no question that Goldoni and Griselini were friends, and remained so.¹ The younger and less gifted writer very likely discussed with the more famous dramatist the subject of Freemasonry, suggested the subject as suitable for dramatic treatment, and perhaps exhibited the manuscript of his own effort in that line. In any case, there are striking similarities between the two comedies, as a brief analysis will show.

The scene of *I Liberi Muratori* is "Cosmopoli"—not Venice, to which city Erasto proposes (Act V, sc. viii) to take his bride. Act I takes place in the house of Procopio, who has just been elected Gran Capo Maestro of the Masonic lodge. He has two daughters, of whom the younger, Lucilla, is loved by Erasto and Dorante; while the elder, Bellisa, has a comic admirer, il Conte di Poltronico—a personage recalling il Marchese di Forlipopoli in *La Locandiera* and il Conte in *Il Ventaglio*. Marinetta, the maid, tells of her discovery that Procopio, Erasto, and the valet Fabricio are members of the lodge. In answer to the questions of Bellisa, Poltronico claims to be a member, and promises to reveal—but to Bellisa alone—the great secret of Freemasonry.² Marinetta therefore allies herself to Lucilla in an effort to discover the mystery; and Lucilla, who really prefers Dorante, decides to favor Erasto. When the latter declares that the mystery is simply the fact that there is no secret, Lucilla refuses to believe him. Dorante asserts that if he knew the secret he would gladly tell it to Lucilla, and Erasto offers to have him initiated at once. In Act II, Poltronico, having falsely stated that he is a Mason, seeks to learn from Fabricio how he may make his word good by becoming one. Fabricio, being only a *fratello servente*, refers him to a certain Dr. Scanagonzi, with whom he gets into a violent dispute. Erasto and Dorante separate them. Sganarello learns

¹ In 1765 Goldoni wrote two letters to Griselini from Paris, printed by E. Masi, *Lettere di C. Goldoni* (Bologna [1880]), pp. 280, 292. The second, which Griselini printed in the *Corriere Letterario*, 25 gennaio 1766, contains an interesting discussion of theatrical conditions in France. As to conditions in Italy, "I teatri . . . hanno poco perduto nella mia persona, ma hanno perduto assai, se sono ricaduti nell' antico genio mostruoso."

² As an example of Poltronico's language, which is not at all that of the other characters, the following may be quoted (Act I, sc. iv): "Saprete il tutto inanci che Febo giunga all' Occaso per immergearsi nel seno della marina Teti. Ma con questo patto, amabile Bellisa, che ad altri non paleseste quanto confiderovvi, e che nel tempo medesimo avrete merce delle mie sventure, poichè già i riflettuti riflessi del vostro bello m' hanno consumato il cerebro, ed incendiati i ventricoli del cuore."

that his master Dorante is to join the lodge, and begs to be admitted with him: he has heard that Masons assist one another so effectually that they are never obliged to work or go hungry.

Act III takes place in the lodge. The Sopraintendente instructs Procopio in his duties as Gran Capo Maestro: (1) harmony must prevail; (2) the traditional ceremonies must be observed; (3) no new members shall be admitted without paying the entrance-fee; (4) the secret signs of recognition must not be divulged; (5) women are not admitted, and if any woman, moved by curiosity, should penetrate into the lodge, she must be punished even if related to one of the members. Then the members simultaneously go through a series of motions with their hands—*dare il segno*. The candidates for admission, Dorante and Sganarello, are brought in blindfolded; after swearing secrecy, they are declared members. They then watch the others eating and drinking with certain ceremonies. Procopio informs Dorante that there is no secret other than what he has seen; the rest of the members have undergone the same disappointment, but have kept quiet about it in the hope of seeing others made ridiculous in their turn. Sganarello finds that he must now work harder than ever, and be beaten when he is awkward in learning the signs of recognition; his *lazzi* are worthy of his prototype Arlecchino in the *Commedia dell'arte*. In Act IV Dorante admits to Lucilla that there is, as Erasto had told her, no secret; she refuses to believe him, and he goes off, threatening suicide. Sganarello gives the signs to Marinetta, and she, pretending to be a "Muratora," exchanges his lodge-key for another. Poltronico relates to Bellisa, as the great secret, something which he afterward confesses he has just read in a book. Marinetta displays the key, and they all prepare to visit the lodge. In Act V, Lucilla, Bellisa, Marinetta, and Poltronico enter the lodge, and hide. Two of the Masons discuss the history of the society from its formation at the time of the Crusades, and the ridiculous ideas that outsiders have of it: some think that Masons profess a heretical religion, others that they possess the secret of transmuting metals, others again that they propose to overthrow all governments and establish a universal republic. The intruders are discovered; Procopio wishes to punish his daughters, but Erasto offers to take Lucilla to Venice as his bride, and find a

husband there for Bellisa. The location of the lodge must, however, be changed: "Conviene che ci nascondiamo, affinchè il nostro Secreto, e l' esistenza de' Liberi Muratori siano sempre due cose problematiche, e incerte."

Griselini thus gives us an avowed description of contemporary Freemasonry, making it more or less ridiculous, and entirely innocuous. The play is fairly well constructed; while the characters are conventional, it is not devoid of interest. In *Le Donne Curiose*, on the other hand, the technical terms of Masonry are not used, and the apologetic purpose is not made evident; yet in this play also we find it demonstrated that a society surrounded by mystery and suspected of sinister purposes is in reality devoted exclusively to innocent social relaxation. In each case women are excluded, and the lively curiosity of the female relatives of the members furnishes the basis of the plot.

Goldoni introduces three of the traditional masked characters, who speak in dialect—Pantalone de' Bisognosi, the Venetian merchant; Brighella, his valet; and Arlecchino. The other personages bear the conventional names that Goldoni frequently uses—Ottavio, a citizen of Bologna, in his homely good sense often compared to Goldoni himself; Beatrice, his wife; Rosaura, their daughter; Florindo, "promesso sposo a Rosaura"; and several friends. We are at once introduced to the club, where the members are reading and playing *dama*; the conversation indicates the informal social purpose of the club, and the exclusion of women. The scene changes to Ottavio's house, and Florindo declares that there is nothing secret about the club, and that Rosaura is mistaken in thinking that women are received there. Beatrice believes that the members gamble, Eleonora that they search for the philosopher's stone. Act II is taken up with the fruitless efforts of the women to learn the secret and to gain admission to the club. As Corallina, the maid, remarks: "Non è curiosità, ma volontà rabbiosissima di sapere." To this Arlecchino rejoins: "Da resto po, no se pol dir, che le sia curiose." Brighella finally takes it upon himself to restore harmony by secretly admitting the four women. In Act III the scene is again the club, with the women in hiding. Pantalone reads to a new member the by-laws of the organization:¹ members must be of

¹ Act III, sc. iv. Translated by Chatfield-Taylor, *Goldoni*, p. 297.

good character; in the clubhouse they must behave with decorum; they must pay their dues, and assist one another in case of need; in order that scandal and jealousy may be excluded, women are not to be admitted; among the members there shall be no other salutation or compliment than the word *Amicizia*. This scene is the only part of the play which seems to apply definitely to the Freemasons; the by-laws are supposed to have been derived from those actually in effect at the time. Finally the women are discovered; Brighella is scolded for admitting them; but, as Goldoni himself says,¹ the men are after all not sorry that the women have been undeviated, so that the innocent diversions of the club may continue.

I Liberi Muratori has the more conventional plot, aside from its introduction of Masonic matters, and shows no influence of *Le Donne Curiose*. Thus there is no reason to doubt Griselini's statement that his comedy was written in 1752, before Goldoni's. On the other hand, the similarities, while not extending to the plot as a whole, or to the characters, are striking. It seems obvious, then, that Goldoni at least knew in a general way about Griselini's play, whether or not he had actually read it; and that with his instinct for dramatic effect and his readiness to appropriate an idea wherever he found it, he used in his own inimitable manner such portions of it as appealed to him.

The influence of Molière on the Italian dramatists of the eighteenth century, and in particular on Goldoni, has been studied by various scholars;² but Griselini has not hitherto been mentioned in this connection. We should naturally expect a friend and admirer of Goldoni to be at least superficially acquainted with Molière's works; and in fact the names of the characters, and two short passages of dialogue, seem to have been derived from Molière. Lucilla, her lover Erasto, and her maid Marinetta correspond to Lucile, Eraste, and Marinette in *le Dépit amoureux*; Bellisa, the elder sister, has many of the characteristics of Bélide in *les Femmes savantes* —a type also used by Goldoni (for instance, Beatrice in *Il Vero Amico*). Sganarello, an Italian *zanni*, evidently derives his name from the French Sganarelle; this name, in spite of its Italian appearance, has not been traced farther back than Molière, who gives it not

¹ *Memorie*, ed. Mazzoni, I, 382.

² See especially P. Toldo, *L'Œuvre de Molière et sa fortune en Italie* (Turin, 1910).

only to a valet (*le Médecin volant*,¹ *Don Juan*), but also to a wood-cutter (*le Médecin malgré lui*) and to a bourgeois (*Sganarelle, l'Ecole des maris, le Mariage forcé, l'Amour médecin*). The name Dorante is common in French drama of the seventeenth century. Molière uses it in *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and also, in connection with Eraste, in *les Fâcheux*. The supposition that Griselini derived these names from a general acquaintance with Molière's works is confirmed by two passages of dialogue. In Act II, sc. ii, Poltronico rewards Fabricio for some misleading information, and the following dialogue ensues:

Con. Avete fatto bene ad avvertirmi. Vi ringrazio il mio caro Fabricio. Intanto per ricompensarvi tenete questi dieci Zecchini.

Fab. Obbligatissimo al Sig. Conte. Grazie a vostra Eccellenza.

Con. Eccellenza! Eccellenza! Oh bravo! Aspettate. Quest' Eccellenza merita qualche cosa non essendo già parola ordinaria. Questi sono cinque Zecchini che l' Eccellenza vi dona.

Fab. Mi confonde colla sua generosità; ed oggi certo voglio fare un brindisi alla salute di vostra Grandezza.

Con. Vostra Grandezza? ah, ah, ah. Tenete questi otto Zecchini per la mia Grandezza.

Fab. La sua liberalità arriva all' eccesso. Io m' inchino profondamente, e la ringrazio di tutto cuore. (Oh pazzo maledetto! Pazzo, tre volte pazzo, pazzo da catena!) Via.

SCENA III

Il Conte solo

Se Fabricio proseguiva a dirmi anche Altezza io gli dava tutta la Borsa.

This recalls the scene at the end of Act II of *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, where Monsieur Jourdain rewards the *garçon tailleur* for calling him successively "mon gentilhomme," "Monseigneur," and "Votre Grandeur," and finally remarks: "S'il va jusqu'à l'Altesse, il aura toute la bourse."

Again, in Act IV, sc. viii, the Conte is alone with Bellisa:

Bel. . . . Ma, se vi piace, sediamo. *Siedono.*

Con. Son io sicuro, Madamigella, appresso di voi?

Bel. Perchè mi chiedete ciò?

Con. Ah, temo assai, che gli occhi vostri mi vogliano assassinare.

Bel. Assicuratevi sopra la loro integrità, che non han eglino questo reo disegno.

¹ This little play, written by Molière while *en tour*, also contains a *Lucile*, with whom the master of *Sganarelle* is in love; but it appears not to have been published until 1819. Cf. *Œuvres de Molière*, ed. Despois, I, 47; and II, 160.

Con. Cospetto! Bisognarebbe essere l' antipoda della ragione per non confessare che siete il Collegio di tutte le meraviglie, e che in voi a gara signoreggiano, alma beltà, grande spirto, e leggiadria: Ma cosa dite di questo bel vestito? Non è egli ben fatto? Ah, gran Monsù di Cutifo! Gran Sarto!

Bel. Vi sta dipinto.

Con. E di queste calzette di Francia, che ve ne pare? Osservate che bella sacoma hanno i miei scarpini! Questi manichetti poi sono un capo d' opera! A dir il vero, sono poi stato sempre di buon gusto.

Bel. Siete la stessa galanteria.

With this passage compare scene x of *les Précieuses ridicules*, where, after Mascarille and the two *précieuses* have seated themselves, the following remarks are made:

Mas. Mais, au moins, y a-t-il sûreté ici pour moi?

Cathos. Que craignez-vous?

Mas. Quelque vol de mon cœur, quelque assassinat de ma franchise. Je vois ici deux yeux qui ont la mine d'être de fort mauvais garçons, de faire insulte aux libertés. . .

Madelon. Ne craignez rien: nos yeux n'ont point de mauvais desseins, et votre cœur peut dormir en assurance sur leur prud'homie.

Madelon uses, in speaking of Paris, some of the expressions that the Conte addresses to Bellisa:

Il faudroit être l'antipode de la raison, pour ne pas confesser que Paris est le grand bureau des merveilles, le centre du bon goût, du bel esprit, et de la galanterie.

Later Mascarille draws attention to his costume:

Mas. Que vous semble de ma petite-oie? La trouvez-vous congruente à l'habit?

Cathos. Tout à fait.

Mas. Le ruban est bien choisi.

Mad. Furieusement bien. C'est Perdrigeon tout pur.

Mas. Que dites-vous de mes canons?

Mad. Ils ont tout à fait bon air. . .

These resemblances are superficial and slight, but they are sufficient to indicate that Grisolini should be added to the list of Italian dramatists who were influenced by Molière.

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“TOUT CRACHÉ”

In telling the Draper how extraordinarily he resembles his “late father,” *Pathelin* exclaims:

car quoy! qui vous aroit crachié
tous deux encontre la paroy
d'une maniere [var. matiere] et d'ung arroy
si seriez vous sans difference. [Vss. 153-57.]

Later, in relating his visit to *Guillemette*, he quotes himself thus (vs. 427): “C'estes vous, fais ie, tout crachié.”

In his “Observations,” Nyrop quotes examples and concludes: “*Cracher* est évidemment, comme il ressort aussi des exemples anglais, une métaphore burlesque pour produire, créer.”

Although I can quote no examples older than those in *Pathelin*, this locution, in various forms, is presumably of earlier date, and its frequency in English and in Italian indicates that it arose from a popular belief that *like begets like* (cf. “his father's own son”; “like father like son”; “a chip of the old block,” etc.). “Why Lord! you might even ha' come to be champion o' England in time—you're the very spit o' me,” says father to son in J. Farnol's *The Amateur Gentleman* (1912, chap. i); and in Masefield's *The Campden Wonder* (1907, *ad init.*) we read: “A dear, a dear, he be the very spit of his poor feyther, and he be a sad one, he be.” In Verga's *I Malavoglia*, (1888, p. 91) occurs, not *nato e sputato*, but *nato sputato*: “Questo è proprio un Malavoglia nato sputato! osservava padron 'Ntoni gongolante.” An example occurs in *Arsène Lupin* (IV, 3): Charolais père to Lupin: “Je vous ai dit: ‘Patron, c'est vous tout craché!’” Very few persons using or hearing the expression *tout craché* would have any but an individual notion as to its original meaning, and our “spitten image” (with the older past participle, but sometimes confused with “spitting”) seems to me to lead the same kind of life as *tout craché*. Nevertheless, an explanation can be offered from an authoritative source. Montaigne (I, chap. 28) tells of a man who, on being reminded of the affection he owed his children because they had issued from him, “se mit à cracher. ‘Et cela, dit-il, en est aussi bien sorty; nous engendrons aussi bien des pouz et des vers.’”

CHICAGO

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RICHARD T. HOLBROOK

THE NATURALISM OF ALPHONSE DAUDET

Few writers have been more beloved than Alphonse Daudet. Even the severest critics of the naturalistic school, under the spell of his personal charm, have been disposed to treat his work with indulgence, if not with actual approval.¹ Yet whenever an attempt has been made to analyze the admirable qualities of his writings, we have been confronted at once with the strangest contradictions.

The most serious ground for debate is Daudet's realism. For example, Ferdinand Brunetière feels that Daudet truly succeeds only where he rises above the realistic method, and uses his imagination.² In the opinion of Emile Zola, however, it is just these occasional departures from realism which are the one blot upon the work of the author.³ It is when he has adhered rigidly to the naturalistic method, declares Zola, that Daudet has sounded the depths of the human heart, and produced novels of universal interest.⁴ Brunetière, on the other hand, condemns Daudet precisely for his want of "connaissance du cœur humain."⁵ He believes that the eternal human nature revealed in *Gil Blas*, *Manon Lescaut*, *Candide* and *La Nouvelle Héloïse* is conspicuously lacking in the works of our author.

René Doumic, A. de Pontmartin, and E. Montégut, among others, agree substantially with Brunetière in regard to the essential superficiality of Daudet's work. Doumic thinks that Daudet's art succeeds where he would portray simple people, whose character is understood at a glance, while it fails where a profounder analysis is necessary.⁶ De Pontmartin emphasizes the abnormality of certain

¹ Emile Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes* (1893), p. 316; R. Doumic, *Portraits d'écrivains*, Première série (1911), I, 285; F. Brunetière, *Le Roman naturaliste* (1896), p. 358; E. Gilbert, *Le Roman en France pendant le XIX^e siècle* (1909), p. 288; A. Hermant, *Essais de critique* (1912), p. 48. The following comment from Jules Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 235, is typical of the opinion of most critics concerning Daudet: "Il est, je crois, l'écrivain le plus sincèrement réaliste qui ait été."

² F. Brunetière, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

³ Emile Zola, *Une Campagne* (1908), p. 393.

⁴ Emile Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 285.

⁵ F. Brunetière, "L'Impressionisme dans le roman—*Les Rois en exil* par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXVI (3d series, 1879), 458, 459.

⁶ René Doumic, *Etudes sur la littérature française* (1899), III, 137, 139.

characters of Daudet, which prevents his work from having the universal appeal of the masterpieces referred to by Brunetière.¹ Montégut observes with regret that within the naturalistic school itself there has been a tendency away from the study of human nature in general to the detailing of the exceptional and the pathological. Mme Bovary, for instance, despite her depravity, is still troubled by the voice of conscience.² Mme Risler, on the contrary, is a heartless product of artificial modern society.

Opposed to this view is that of Georges Rodenbach, who maintains that Daudet has created numerous "general" types, such as Tartarin, Sapho, Delobelle, the Nabob, Numa Roumestan, and the Immortal; that to determine the type Daudet, like the painter Whistler, required of his subject innumerable poses, which taken together resulted in the *expression d'éternité*.³ Rodenbach in turn is directly contradicted by Paul Franche who, noting Daudet's inaccuracy in quoting the ritual of the Catholic church, says that the author never demands numerous sittings of his model: an instantaneous photograph satisfies him.⁴

Before venturing to express my own opinion as to the merits of Daudet's realism, it is my purpose to study in some detail the methods by which he composed his stories and novels. The consideration of first importance in such an investigation is the passion which Daudet had for the *histoire vraie*. "Je prenais déjà des notes dans les escaliers," he is reported to have said, on his return from an academic dinner.⁵ Doumic assures us that he drew materials not only from his own recollections, but directly from the newspapers; and that so minute were his observations, that he preserved even the gestures and the names of his models.⁶ Zola adds that the real constructive work of Daudet lies, not in the creation of char-

¹ A. de Pontmartin, *Souvenirs d'un vieux critique* (1885), VI, 311: ". . . il faut qu'il [Jean Gaussin] soit idiot, ou bien que son cas, essentiellement pathologique, relève de la médecine expérimentale; ce qui rentre d'ailleurs dans la spécialité du roman naturaliste."

² E. Montégut, *Dramaturges et romanciers* (1890), p. 264.

³ Georges Rodenbach, *L'Elite* (1890), pp. 102, 103.

⁴ Paul Franche, *Le Prêtre dans le roman français* (1902), p. 290.

⁵ G. Rodenbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 102.

⁶ René Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains*, I, 285; *Etudes sur la littérature française*, III, 132; cf. Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 312. A typical case is that of the prince valaque, spoken of in *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 49, who appears in *Le Nabab*, pp. 153-55.

acters or plots, but in the skilful arrangement of documents.¹ We learn that, like Balzac, he constructed scenarios from his materials, as a preliminary step in the composition of his novels.² Jules Lemaitre, however, asserts that his works, by their lack of unity, reflect their notebook origin.³

In his methods, Daudet scrupulously followed the example of the Goncourts, with whom he was on intimate terms.⁴ Out of an almost filial devotion, he took notes upon the last hours of Edmond de Goncourt, trying to equal if possible the very precise observations which the latter had made upon his dying brother Jules. However, he sat very humbly at the feet of his masters. "Non que j'aie la prétention," he began, "non que j'aie la prétention de rien écrire de vibrant, de pénétrant, comme ces feuillets du *Journal des Goncourt*, juin, 1870, mais ce qu'il a fait pour son frère Jules, ma tendresse d'ami et de témoin veut essayer de le faire pour lui."⁵

Daudet follows his masters occasionally to the extent of putting his notes, without any alteration whatever, into his books.⁶ In almost the exact language of the Goncourts, he asserts that "le roman est l'histoire des hommes."⁷ He concludes, in accord with them, that the realistic novel must necessarily be sad.

Not only his methods, but also his themes are suggested by the Goncourts, whose influence is evident in more than one story in the little collection entitled *Les Femmes d'artistes*. The exasperating Mme Heurtbise, the former shop-woman, quarrels incessantly with her high-strung literary husband, whom she despises because his profession is not lucrative, and whom she plagues even on the death-bed to which she finally brings him. Marthe, the actress, displays

¹ E. Zola, *Une Campagne* (1908), pp. 385-87.

² Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie* (1899), Preface by Mme Julia A. Daudet, p. xi; cf. Lane Cooper, *Methods and Aims in the Study of Literature* (New York, 1915), p. 94 (quoted from Théophile Gautier, *Honoré de Balzac—Famous French Authors* [New York, 1879], pp. 204-7).

³ Jules Lemaitre, *Les Contemporains*, IV, 235.

⁴ *Notes sur la vie*, p. 124.

⁵ *Notes sur la vie*, p. 224. See the concluding pages of the *Journal*, Vol. III.

⁶ *Contes du lundi* (1895), p. 98 ("Aux Avant-Postes"): ". . . Tout cela est haché, heurté, bâclé sur le genou, déchiqueté comme un éclat d'obus, mais je le donne tel quel, sans rien changer, sans même me relire. J'aurais trop peur de vouloir inventer, faire intéressant, et de gâter tout;" cf. Edmond et Jules de Goncourt, *Charles Demailly* pp. 74-89.

⁷ *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 112; cf. the Goncourts, *Préfaces et manifestes littéraires* (1898), p. 45: ". . . nous écrivions une biographie vérifique à la façon d'une biographie d'histoire moderne."

an equally complete lack of sympathy with the work of the writer Charles Demaillly, whom she eventually drives insane by her refined torture.¹ La Transtévéline finally dominates the household of her artist husband just as the other incompatible wife, Manette Salomon, by her heartlessness, separates Coriolis from every natural friend and kills his artistic soul.²

In *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, the dénouement revolves around the visit of Frantz to Sidonie, to prevent her from ruining her husband's fortune in riotous living with Georges Fromont. In order to get Frantz in her power, Sidonie extracts from him a fatal billet-doux, by much the same tactics that Manette Salomon employs to entice Anatole to make love to her.³ Working seductively on Frantz, Sidonie finally places her hand on his: " ' Frantz . . . Frantz! et ils restaient là l'un contre l'autre, silencieux et brûlants, bercés par la romance de madame Dobson qui leur arrivait par bouffées à travers les massifs:

Ton amour c'est ma folie.
Hélas! je n'en puis guéri i i i r! . . . "⁴

Manette Salomon, more boldly, lies invitingly upon a couch in the presence of Anatole. When he seeks to embrace her, she calls for Coriolis: "Ah! mon cher,—ricana Manette,—tu as un ami qui est galant aujourd'hui . . . mais galant!" . . .

"Elle avait ce qu'elle voulait: une histoire qu'elle pouvait empoisonner, une arme traîtresse en réserve pour combattre et tuer quand elle voudrait l'amitié de Coriolis pour Anatole."⁵

Sidonie uses the note which she obtains from Frantz to open a fatal gulf between his brother and himself, leading eventually to the suicide of Risler. As for Anatole, he is driven from the house of Coriolis, the companion of his youth, and the supremacy of the viper Manette Salomon is assured.⁶

¹ *Les Femmes d'artistes*, pp. 15-26; cf. *Charles Demaillly*.

² *Les Femmes d'artistes*, pp. 41-53 ("La Transtévéline"); cf. the concluding chapters of *Manette Salomon* (Edmond et Jules de Goncourt).

³ *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné* (1894), pp. 251 ff; cf. *Manette Salomon*, chap. cxiv, pp. 341-43.

⁴ *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, p. 232.

⁵ *Manette Salomon*, p. 343.

⁶ *Manette Salomon*, p. 343; cf. *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, pp. 425 ff. La Merquier resorts to a somewhat similar stratagem when he entraps the unsuspecting Nabab into offering him a picture as a bribe.

The difficulty of collecting a quantity of interesting notes on normal, everyday life led the naturalists to devote considerable attention to diseases. We thus find Daudet, as a faithful disciple of the Goncourts, carefully analyzing his own sufferings. For the description of the death of Elysée Méraut, the faithful tutor of little Zara, exiled heir-apparent to the throne of Illyria, he utilized his own sensations during illness.¹ Like the Goncourts also, he frequented the hospitals in order to collect data upon the patients. A series of four articles, entitled "La vie à l'hôpital," published in an ephemeral medical journal called the *Journal d'Enghien*, were sent to Daudet by Raoul D . . . , the original of Jack. In addition to the material obtained in this way, Daudet made long observations at the bedside of Raoul. Learning, however, that the Goncourts were undertaking a long description of the Charity hospital in *Sœur Philomène*, Daudet decided to make little use of the data which he had collected.²

He was attracted toward the field of psychology, especially abnormal psychology, but here he was following in the footsteps of the Goncourts even more than ever. For instance, his *Notes sur la vie* contains a chapter of "Rêves et Hallucinations," which is hardly more extensive than the material in the *Journal* on the same subject.³ In his investigations of abnormal psychology, he was indebted also to Dr. J. M. Charcot, to whom he dedicated *L'Evangéliste*, and who appears as the great Dr. Bouchereau not only in that novel, but also in *Les Rois en exil* and *Numa Roumestan*.⁴ *L'Evangéliste* undoubtedly contains many pathological details due to Daudet's friendship with the great specialist in nervous diseases. The general

¹ *Notes sur la vie*, p. 124; cf. *Les Rois en exil* (1890), pp. 474-80.

² *Trente ans de Paris*, pp. 264, 276.

³ *Notes sur la vie*, pp. 158-76. On p. 173 he speaks of a kind of dream which reminds one of Dickens: "Un des phénomènes les plus étranges du rêve, c'est la participation qu'y a souvent la réalité; les bruits extérieurs très réels se mêlent souvent à l'action rêvée, y jouent un rôle," etc; cf. *Oliver Twist*, ed. Harper & Brothers (1902), p. 67 (chap. ix): ". . . . There is a drowsy state, between sleeping and waking, when you dream more in five minutes with your eyes half open, and yourself half conscious of everything that is passing around you, than you would in five nights with your eyes fast closed, and your senses wrapt in perfect unconsciousness. At such times, a mortal knows just enough of what his mind is doing to form some glimmering conception of its mighty powers, its bounding from earth and spurning time and space, when freed from the restraint of its corporeal associate."

⁴ *L'Evangéliste*, p. 251; *Les Rois en exil*, chap. xviii, pp. 481-99; *Numa Roumestan*, p. 203. The identification of Bouchereau with Dr. Charcot was indicated by my colleague, Professor D. S. Blondheim.

theme, however, is taken from the Goncourts, the novel being recognized as a direct imitation of *Madame Gervaisais*.¹ The Protestant Mme d'Autheman, by her insidious influence upon Eline Ebsen, whom she induces to separate from her mother, is a worthy rival of the Catholic fanatic who shuts the door in the face of her half-idiot son, Pierre-Charles, at the behest of Father Sibilla.

Thus it would appear already that the naturalistic school, despite its pretensions to the contrary, tends fatally to a restricted field of observation. Nor is it surprising that Daudet is obliged to return frequently to the themes treated by the Goncourts. When we come to consider the materials which seem to be entirely the fruit of his own observations, we shall find him using over and over again the same themes, the same characters, and even the same language. This fact is the more significant because as a precaution against repetition, we are told by his widow, he drew a blue pencil mark through such notes as he used in the composition of his novels.²

There are a few examples of the simplest form of repetitions, where the same narrative is published in different volumes. For instance, the story of "Les trois messes basses" is found both in the *Lettres de mon moulin* and in the *Contes du lundi*.³ "Les Aventures d'un papillon et d'une bête à bon Dieu" appears in *Les Amoureuses* as well as in *Le Petit Chose*.⁴

Sometimes the story takes the form of a brief sketch, which is elsewhere expanded into a novel. Amaury, the poetaster, recites the "Credo de l'amour," charming a circle of silly women, and eloping with the wife of the nurseryman.⁵ In *Jack*, "M. le vicomte" Amaury d'Argenton, by pompously declaiming the same lines, "Moi je crois à l'amour comme je crois en Dieu," etc., persuades the "Countess" Ida de Barancy to forsake for him her son Jack and her aristocratic lover.⁶

¹ René Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains* (1911), I, 281.

² Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie* (Preface by Julia A. Daudet), p. vii.

³ *Lettres de mon moulin* (Paris, 1895), pp. 211-28; *Contes du lundi* (Paris, 1895), pp. 265-67.

⁴ *Les Amoureuses* (1857-61) (Paris, 1912), pp. 122-41; *Le Petit Chose* (1894), pp. 228-35.

⁵ *Les Femmes d'artistes*, p. 33 ("Le Credo de l'amour").

⁶ *Jack*, p. 98; cf. Jules Lemaître, *Les Contemporains* (1893), II, 280.

Such examples are sufficiently obvious, and extended comment upon them would be commonplace.¹ There remains, however, a type of repetition in Daudet which apparently has attracted little attention heretofore. I mean his frequent recourse to the same motif. In *Les Rois en exil*, little Prince Zara laughs at his father Christian, ex-king of Illyria, and at his mother Frédérique, the ex-queen, and with a caress brings their foreheads together, as if he understands that he is the only bond of union between the weak, dissolute husband, and the heroic wife. Similarly, it is only because of her child that Rosalie becomes outwardly reconciled to Numa Roumestan, from whom she has separated after he has betrayed her a second time.² Villemessant, out of employment and lying to his daughters who do not suspect his poverty, is the model for M. Joyeuse, who is discharged from the banking firm of Hémerlingue et fils.³ "On se figure le supplice de M. Joyeuse, obligé d'inventer des épisodes, des anecdotes sur le misérable qui l'avait si férolement congédié après dix ans de bons services. Pourtant il jouait sa petite comédie, de façon à tromper complètement tout le monde. On n'avait remarqué qu'une chose, c'est que le père en rentrant le soir se mettait toujours à table avec un grand appétit. Je crois bien! Depuis qu'il avait perdu sa place, le pauvre homme ne déjeunait plus."⁴ In like fashion, the granddaughter of Colonel Jouve is

¹ It might be remarked here that Daudet frequently uses "interlocking" characters, like Balzac, Zola, and others. The "illustre Docteur-Professeur de Schwenthaler" is found in the *Contes du lundi* ("la Pendule de Bougival"), pp. 64-72, as well as in *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 9, etc. M. Bompard, who figures prominently in the latter story (*Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 109, and especially pp. 349-65, as well as *Numa Roumestan*, p. 295, etc.), is mentioned also in the *Contes du lundi* ("La Défense de Tarascon," p. 76). The same is the case for the gunsmith Costecalde (*Contes du lundi*, p. 78; cf. *Tartarin de Tarascon*, p. 17; *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 36, etc.), and General Bravida (*Contes du lundi*, p. 80; on p. 81, General Bravida speaks characteristically of *nos lapines*, a term applied particularly to Tartarin; cf. *Tartarin de Tarascon*, p. 22). In fact, the only important omission in "La Défense de Tarascon" is Tartarin himself. In *L'Immortel* figure Colette de Rosen, as well as Christian, king of Illyria, who are among the most important figures in *Les Rois en exil* (*L'Immortel* [1890], pp. 22, 43). Amy Férot, who flirts with Jansoulet, the Nabab, gives a rendezvous to M. de Fagan in *Rose et Ninette*, p. 36. (Cf. *Le Nabab*, p. 498, etc.) The Sautecour family, inveterate poachers, who play a tragic rôle in *La Petite Paroisse* (p. 189), appear also in *L'Obstacle* (p. 159). Delobelle, the unsuccessful actor, one of the foremost figures in *Fromont Jeune et Risler aîné*, is mentioned in *Jack* (p. 95) as an associate of the *raté d'Argenton*.

² *Les Rois en exil*, p. 10; *Numa Roumestan* (1896), p. 344.

³ *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 34.

⁴ *Le Nabab*, p. 95.

Irma Borel (*Le Petit Chose*, pp. 277-80) raves against the Petit Chose exactly as Sapho does against Jean Gauzin, p. 278: "Elle bavait, elle étranglait"; cf. *Sapho*,

obliged to invent cheerful stories for him, although in the greatest distress herself: "Vous figurez-vous le désespoir de cette pauvre enfant sans nouvelle de son père, le sachant prisonnier, privé de tout, et obligé de le faire parler dans des lettres joyeuses, un peu courtes, comme pouvait en écrire un soldat en campagne, allant toujours en avant dans un pays conquis."¹

Like Joyeuse, she suffers the pangs of hunger during her ordeal:

"—Comprends-tu cela, petite? nous mangions du cheval!

"Je crois bien qu'elle le comprenait. Depuis deux mois elle ne mangeait pas autre chose."

The young hero of "Le Pape est mort" invents a tale of the death of Pope Pius IX, for purposes of his own. He is well aware that he will be forgiven the next day, so overjoyed will his parents be to learn that the Pope is really still alive.² In *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, Bompard, returning to Tarascon, recounts the tragic death of Tartarin exhibiting relics of the deceased mountain-climber to substantiate his story. When Tartarin suddenly appears, the inhabitants are so delighted that no attention is paid to the imposition which has been practiced upon them.

Father Stenne, discovering that his son has betrayed the French army, goes back himself to repair the fault, without so much as looking round as he leaves the room. The old blacksmith, Father Lory, refusing to turn round when his aged wife would call him back, goes as a substitute for his son, who has deserted from the Third Zouaves.³

The Nabab, taking voluntarily upon himself the guilt of his worthless brother, when to speak the truth would have saved his fortune and seat in the Chamber of Deputies, is not unlike the Petit Chose, who loses his position in school by shouldering the blame for the gallant adventures of the *maître d'armes*.⁴

ed. Flammarion, p. 314: "Dans l'ombre qui les gagnait, il ne voyait plus que cette figure pâle, levée vers lui, cette bouche ouverte, clamant d'une intarissable plainte." Like Jean Gaussen, the Petit Chose makes ineffectual efforts to break away from his mistress. He actually writes his brother of his intended separation, but "cette lettre ne partit pas" (p. 280).

¹ *Contes du lundi* ("Le Siège de Berlin"), pp. 51, 52.

² *Contes du lundi* ("Le Pape est mort"), p. 284; cf. *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 364.

³ *Contes de lundi* ("L'Enfant Espion"), p. 37; cf. *ibid.* ("Le Mauvais Zouave"), p. 63.

⁴ *Le Petit Chose*, pp. 120 and preceding; cf. *Le Nabab*, pp. 413-14.

At the close of "Le Siège de Berlin," Colonel Jouve, who had accompanied Napoleon I on many glorious marches through Germany, cries, as he witnesses the triumphal entry of the enemy into Paris: "Aux armes! . . . aux armes! . . . les Prussiens!" then falls dead with apoplexy.¹ Hornus, the Porte-Drapeau, seeing the beloved banner which he has so often borne to victory in the possession of the enemy, rushes upon the Prussian officer, crying: "Au dra . . .," but his voice chokes, and he falls in an apoplectic fit.

Repetitions of this kind can doubtless be found in all voluminous writers, although it is perhaps fair to say that they are seldom more abundant than in Daudet and the naturalists. They confirm the conclusion that while theoretically the province of the naturalistic school may be nature in its entirety, as Zola would maintain,² practically it is quite as limited as that of most other schools of writers. There remains to be discussed the question whether Daudet's restricted field of observation is compensated for by a correspondingly profound study of human nature. In order to answer that question, let us consider a feature of Daudet's style which is sufficiently distinctive to have received considerable comment. I refer to his use of characteristic phrases or gestures—the *tics* by which one individual is readily distinguished from another. Jules Lemaître asserts that these puppet-like gestures are significant enough to demonstrate that Daudet, contrary to the contention of some critics, was a profound observer of the human heart.³ Paul Franche⁴ and E. Gilbert⁵ are among the numerous other critics to emphasize Daudet's use of the *tic* as a means of psychological analysis. Gilbert⁶ cites the Alsatian cashier in the house of Fromont Jeune et Risler ainé, who murmurs: "Chai bas gonviance," as he sees the

¹ *Contes du lundi* ("Le Siège de Berlin"), p. 56; cf. *ibid.* ("le Petit Drapeau"), p. 130. The Nabab also dies of apoplexy, when he witnesses the triumph of his adversary.

² E. Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 285.

³ J. Lemaître, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 242: "On a dit que les personnages de l'Immortel n'étaient que des pantins fort expressifs, qu'ils n'avaient pas de 'dessous.' Ces dessous ne sont pas exprimés, c'est vrai, mais le pantomime de ces véridiques et vivantes marionnettes est si juste que chacun de leurs gestes ou de leurs airs de tête nous révèle leur âme et tout leur passé; et je ne croirai jamais qu'un romancier qui, rien qu'en notant des mouvements extérieurs et de brefs discours, a pu suggérer à M. Brunetière l'idée d'un si beau roman (*Revue des deux mondes* du 1er août), soit un psychologue si insuffisant."

⁴ *Op. cit.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ E. Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

inevitable approach of disaster; Delobelle, the unsuccessful actor, who repeats "Je n'ai pas de droit de renoncer au théâtre!" and dramatically observes, at the funeral of his daughter: "As-tu remarqué?—Quoi?—Il y a deux voitures de maître!"; the pompous d'Argenton, who recites, "Moi, je crois à l'amour comme je crois en Dieu," in *Jack*; Monpavon, in *Le Nabab*, spotless "dans son plastron impeccable"; and old Peyrotte in *Le Petit Chose*, with his perpetual "C'est bien le cas de le dire"

The list of Gilbert might be extended considerably. For instance, there is the plaintive wail of little King Mâdou: "Si pauvre monde avait pas soupir, pauvre monde étouffer bien sûr."¹ The origin of this expression is indicated in *Trente ans de Paris*: ". . . C'est le soupir humain dont parle la chanson créole, cette soupape qui empêche le monde d'étouffer: 'Si pas té gagné, soupi n'en mouné, mouné ta touffé.'" Again, there is Monpavon in *Le Nabab*, with his incessant *machin, chose, ps*, borrowed from the language of the Duke of Mora.² In the same way, the French officers in the story "Mon Képi" have a habit of crying, "Du sang-froid! du sang-froid!" in order to encourage themselves during their periodical camp panics. This expression was also attributed to the intrepid Tartarin, in *Tartarin sur les Alpes*.³ Other instances are Marc Javel's patronizing words, "Ne l'oubliez pas, jeune homme," which he used to remind his ward, Eudeline Raymond, of the duties of an eldest son. His attitude closely resembled that of d'Argenton, with his perpetual "La vie n'est pas un roman," which glossed over his cruelty toward Jack.⁴

Now, if it be true, as Lemaître and others would contend, that each of these little characteristic remarks and gestures reveals the whole past, the very heart of the man, how are we to differentiate between Monpavon, the Duke of Mora, and the host of satellites

¹ *Jack*, p. 65, etc.; cf. *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 326.

² *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 229; cf. *La Féodor* ("Souvenirs d'un Chef de Cabinet"), p. 152; cf. also *Le Nabab*, p. 453: ". . . le vieux sybarite songeait à s'endormir dans une baignoire comme chose . . . machin . . . ps . . . ps . . . ps"

³ *Contes du lundi* ("Mon Képi"), p. 163; cf. *Tartarin sur les Alpes*, p. 66: "Tartarin, pour se réconforter lui-même et rassurer ces demoiselles, criait en se précipitant et bousculant tout le monde: 'Du sang-froid! du sang-froid!' avec une voix de goéland, blanche, épervue, une de ces voix comme on en a dans les rêves, à donner la chair de poule aux plus braves."

⁴ *Soutien de famille* (1898), p. 29; cf. *Jack*, p. 190, etc.

who all affected the same blasé attitude? What is to distinguish in our minds little King Mâdou from the thousands of Creoles who gave vent to their despair in the same words as he? The ejaculation "Du sang-froid!" may disclose to us the inner workings of the heart of Tartarin, but it discloses just as much about the excitable French officers in the story of "Mon Képi." We may thus be tempted to conclude that the puppet-like remarks and gestures are less significant than has been supposed. The characters so revealed may easily be like Dr. Jenkins, the inventor of the famous *perles*, who probably bears a physical resemblance to one man, while his detestable qualities of heart are taken from quite another.¹

Indeed Daudet's regular procedure in the creation of his characters was to make, as Montaigne would say, "un fagotage de diverses pièces." He tells us, for example, that all the characters in *Numa Roumestan*, from the central figure himself to little Audierte, are constructed in this way.²

The method is applied to localities as well: "De même pour Aps en Provence, la ville natale de Numa, que j'ai bâtie avec des morceaux d'Arles, de Nîmes, de Saint-Rémy, de Cavaillon, prenant à l'une ses arènes, à l'autre ses vieilles ruelles italiennes, étroites et cailloutées comme des torrents à sec, son marché du lundi sous les platanes massifs du tour-de-ville," etc.³ Again he writes: "La maison où je fais naître Numa est celle de mes huit ans, rue Séguier, en face l'Académie de Nîmes; l'école des frères terrorisée par l'illustre Boute-à-Cuire et sa férule marinée dans le vinaigre, c'est l'école de mon enfance, les souvenirs de ma plus lointaine mémoire. 'Oiseaux de prime,' disent les Provençaux.'⁴

It is for this reason that Lemaitre objects to the episode in *L'Immortel* of Astier-Réhu, member of the Academy, to whom Albin Fage sold worthless manuscripts. Lemaitre maintains that the incident was comprehensible enough in the case of the real victim, Emile Chasles, who was a mathematician, and hence an easier prey to the mystifications of Vrain-Lucas than a trained man of letters, such as Astier-Réhu. "M. Daudet," he writes, "parti d'un fait vrai, l'a rendu totalement invraisemblable et faux parce qu'il en a

¹ Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 323.

² *Souvenirs d'un homme de lettres*, p. 51.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

changé toutes les conditions."¹ At the same time, Brunetière defends Daudet, insisting that all romancers have resorted to similar methods for creating their characters, and that as for the incident of Albin Fage, history is full of such impositions, of which even the most skilled have been victims.²

It is not my purpose to decide here upon the merits of this controversy. I will grant for the sake of argument the right of any romancer to compose his characters by piecing together features from a number of individuals. I will even allow that there is nothing incongruous in the case of Astier-Réhu, especially as that man of letters is constantly depicted as lacking in the most elementary common-sense. The question which remains is: What becomes of our much-trumpeted realistic method, once the romancer makes such extensive use of arbitrary combinations? Are we not now confronted with the dilemma so well described by Brunetière himself, in his discussion of Daudet's expression *roman d'histoire moderne*? He writes: "Car vous crierez à l'in vraisemblance, et l'on vous répondra que pourtant les choses ses sont passées telles que l'historien les raconte,—ou vous crierez à l'inexactitude, et l'on vous répondra que, pour emprunter quelques traits à l'histoire, le romancier n'a pas abdiqué cependant les droits de l'imagination."³

And what becomes now of the little gestures and characteristic remarks which afford such a deep insight into the souls of Daudet's heroes? It has been observed that we can hardly distinguish these characters from others who have behaved in the same way, but who doubtless possess quite different souls. However, there remain still the remarks which have been attributed to the proper individual, but only after his nature has been considerably altered by Daudet's avowed method of "un fagotage de diverses pièces." How can we know that the words are any longer so characteristic? Or, granting

¹ J. Lemaltrie, *Les Contemporains*, IV (1893), 229; cf. *L'Immortel* (1890), p. 317: "La lettre aussi . . . , dit Epinhard. Mais dès les premières phrases, on crie: 'Assez . . . assez . . . cela suffit . . .' Ils en rougissaient maintenant, de cette épître de Rotrou dont l'imposture crevait les yeux. Un pastiche d'écolier, tournures impropre, la moitié des mots ignorés de ce temps-là. Quel aveuglement! comment avaient-ils pu? . . . "

² F. Brunetière, "L'Immortel par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXXVIII (série 3, 1888), 699.

³ F. Brunetière, "L'Impressionisme dans le roman—Les Rois en exil par M. Alphonse Daudet," *Revue des deux mondes*, XXXVI (3^e série, 1879), 447."

that they are, is it not the effect of the author's imagination, which Zola insists is so conspicuously lacking, and not of his realism?

What Daudet has succeeded in accomplishing is frequently to give an illusion of reality, due principally to the large number of details which he employs. The method has the disadvantage that where the description of particular features is excessively minute, the image as a whole suffers, and a frequent criticism of Daudet is that his novels often seem rather a collection of scenes than a connected whole. The method succeeds best with his short stories, which need no recommendation here.

In conclusion, let us consider certain characteristics of Daudet's writings which have little or no place in the doctrine of realism, and sometimes seem inconsistent with its fundamental tenets. Perhaps the quality which recommends Daudet to his readers' sympathies more strongly than any other is his class humanitarianism. "Je me sens au cœur," he writes, "je me sens au cœur l'amour de Dickens pour les disgraciés et les pauvres, les enfances mêlées aux misères des grandes villes; j'ai eu comme lui une entrée de vie navrante, l'obligation de gagner mon pain avant seize ans; c'est là, j'imagine, notre plus grande ressemblance."¹ Inspired with such a sentiment of pity for the weak and the oppressed, he takes many of his heroes from among the indigent classes. As has been observed already, from Raoul D , broken down with toil, as a model, he draws the picture of Jack.² La Pouponnière, a farm which supplied children with indigestible goat's milk, furnished him with the idea of Dr. Jenkins' heartless Œuvre de Bethléem, in *Le Nabab*.³ His enthusiasm almost tempts him away from realism when, in *Fromont Jeune et Risler ainé*, he creates Désirée, "cette enfant, ayant hérité un brin de l'extravagance paternelle, transformé l'exaspération artistique en doux sentimentalisme de femme et d'infirme."⁴ He thought first of making her a dressmaker for dolls, so that her taste for elegance and delicacy could find expression,⁵ but was distressed to learn that little Jenny Wren, in *Our Mutual Friend* of Dickens, had exactly the same occupation as he had intended for Désirée.⁶ It was difficult

¹ *Trente ans de Paris*, pp. 309, 310.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268, etc.; cf. R. Doumic, *Portraits d'Ecrivains* (1911), I, 285, 286.

³ Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 324.

⁴ *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 306.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

to find any other kind of work that suited the purpose so well, but finally Daudet discovered a little sign on a house in the Rue du Temple: "Oiseaux et Mouches pour Modes,"¹ which solved the difficulty, without too flagrant a departure from realism.

Furthermore Daudet was a poet. It is unnecessary to insist upon the poetic qualities of a story like "La Chèvre de M. Seguin." In his earlier days he even attempted verse, and the little volume of *Les Amoureuses* is said to have been admired by the Empress, whose literary taste was mediocre.² The *Contes du lundi* contains a story entitled "Les Fées de France,"³ in which the author, possessed by a kind of idealism, seems haunted with the spirit of the good old times. In the midst of "realism," he gives as subtitle to this story "Conte Fantastique."

Indeed, Daudet was frequently tempted to delve into the past for subjects, archpriest of modernism that he was. He acknowledges having a lifelong desire to make a romance about Napoleon I, whom he calls "Empereur du Midi," or, failing in that, to take Talleyrand as a subject.⁴ The nearest that he came to gratifying his ambition was in the closing pages of *Port-Tarascon*, where Paschalon persuades Tartarin, a prisoner aboard the English "Tomahawk," that he resembles Napoleon aboard the "Northumberland." It is perhaps noteworthy that it is from the Napoleon of legend that Daudet here delights to draw his incidents.⁵

¹ *Trente ans de Paris*, p. 310.

² H. D'Almèras, *Avant la gloire* (1902), p. 53.

³ *Contes du lundi*, pp. 198-203.

⁴ E. Faguet, *Propos Littéraires* (4^e série, 1907), IV, 252, 253; cf. Alphonse Daudet, *Notes sur la vie*, pp. 100, 148, 152, 153.

⁵ Note the following passages from *Port-Tarascon*:

"Ainsi, tenez, disait-il à son petit Las Cases, Napoléon avait des colères terribles, moi de même . . ." (p. 234).

"Mais, en y songeant, c'est par l'imagination, leur fougueuse imagination méridionale, que l'Empereur et lui s'étaient le plus ressemblés . . ." (p. 235).

"Chaque matin, après le déjeuner, Tartarin montait sur le pont et s'installait à une place, toujours la même, pour causer avec Paschalon.

"Ainsi Napoléon, à bord du 'Northumberland,' avait son poste favori, ce canon auquel il s'appuyait et qu'on appelait le canon de l'Empereur" (p. 239).

"—Cela ne m'étonne pas, fit Tartarin simplement, je suis très populaire en Angleterre.

"Encore une analogie avec Napoléon" (p. 244).

"Paschalon, qui savait ses auteurs, racontait qu'à bord du 'Northumberland' Napoléon mangeait à la table de l'amiral.

" 'Vollà qui me décide,' fit aussitôt le Gouverneur" (p. 253).

"Tout à coup les vins apparurent. Aussitôt lady William quitta la salle, et Tartarin, jetant brusquement sa serviette, se retira à son tour sans saluer, sans s'excuser, conformément à la légende napoléonienne" (pp. 256, 257).

Tartarin de Tarascon, harking further back into the past, is an avowed imitation of *Don Quixote*.¹ Both heroes set out on their adventures with an elaborate equipment which is altogether out of date. Tartarin mistakes light porters for pirates, as Don Quixote does sheep for the armies of knights. He diets and fasts for hunting, just as Don Quixote feeds on true knight's fare, and that very sparingly. He worships the prostitute Baya, just as his prototype becomes the champion of the vulgar Dulcinea. His first lion turns out to be an ass, as the giants turn out to be windmills. Where the hero of Cervantes drinks the balsam of Fierabras, Tartarin goes through similar spasms by becoming seasick. And always faithful to his method of "un fagotage de diverses pièces," Daudet draws from the prosaic Sancho Panza the characteristics of Tartarin which do not conform to those of the impetuous Don Quixote.

Not only was Daudet influenced, like the Romanticists, by the glamor of the dead past, but he felt a certain antipathy toward the scientific determinism that is the very root of naturalism. In *Soutien de famille* he breaks out into an invective against the laws of heredity, which form the basis of Zola's major work: "Oh! ces lois sinistres de l'hérédité, dont la science est venue assombrir la vie déjà si noire!"² The entire play *L'Obstacle* is directed against the same laws. The Conseiller tries, from selfish motives, to prevent the marriage of Didier d'Alein with Madeleine de Rémondy, using every possible argument to prove that the young marquis had inherited the insanity of his father.³ The dénouement is a complete vindication of Didier, and his happy marriage with Madeleine, who succeeds in eluding her odious guardian.

Thus the "most sincerely realistic" of modern French authors does not, Zola to the contrary, write books which are universal in their appeal. His characters, which he uses over and over again, are restricted to a very definite set of favorite types. The incidents that he is fond of repeating suggest no broader experience than that of a number of writers belonging to the Romantic or the classical school. The simple, recurring motifs of his stories suggest no deep

¹ Daudet frequently compares his hero to Don Quixote in *Tartarin de Tarascon*. For the details in this paragraph I am indebted to Messrs. A. B. Brown and H. E. Smith.

² *Soutien de famille*, p. 55.

³ *L'Obstacle*, p. 159, etc.

acquaintance with the mainsprings of human action. And the little gestures and characteristic remarks, the *tics* which appeal to so many critics, can hardly be said after all to prove anything beyond a rather superficial psychology, not clear enough to distinguish individual traits, and perhaps not realistic at all in many cases.

Yet, if it be true, as has been said, that Thackeray could not have written *Vanity Fair* without Eden in his inner eye, may we not also assume that in the most somber pages of *Jack*, *Numa Roumestan*, and *L'Evangéliste* Daudet never lost a certain idealism, which tended to counteract the realism to which he had committed himself? Perhaps we could account thus for the comparative innocence of Daudet's works, which makes most of his books safe reading for the young. Perhaps also we might explain in part the secret of his unquestionable charm.

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ANATOLE FRANCE¹

Few writers appear to have taken such delight in being paradoxical as has Anatole France. He has maintained that there are no such things as literary standards, and he has produced four volumes of literary criticism. He has denied that there is such a thing as historical science, and he has published two large tomes of serious historical research. He has insisted that there is no such thing as the creative imagination, and he has written nearly thirty volumes of novels and short stories. After declaring in 1886 that the virtues of the soldier "ont enfanté la civilisation toute entière," he affirms in 1893 that men are "légers et vains . . . pour mettre les ruines de la guerre à plus haut prix que les arts de la paix."² In 1914 he returns to his first position, seeking, at the age of seventy, to enlist in the French army, and publishing a few months later in 1915 a book on the European war, entitled *Sur la voie glorieuse*. The author who wrote "souffrir . . . là seulement est la véritable joie" (*Jardin d'Epicure*, p. 62) writes, a decade or so later, "N'écoutons pas les prêtres qui enseignent que la souffrance est excellente. C'est la joie qui est bonne."³ The skeptic and conservative whose candidacy for the Academy was supported as recently as 1896 by the aristocratic coterie in preference to that of the anti-clerical Ferdinand Fabre,⁴ appears during the *Affaire* and after as a socialist and a radical. These changes of position, especially the last, make Anatole France a perplexing figure. They raise the question: Is there any real unity in his character and his works? Is he a chameleon, or are his inconsistencies merely superficial? Are his books reflections of

¹ G. Michaut, *Anatole France: étude psychologique*. Paris: Fontemoing, 1913. Pp. xxxv +306.

Victor Giraud, "M. Anatole France" (in *Les Maitres de l'heure*, II, 179-310). Paris: Hachette, 1914.

W. L. George, *Anatole France*. New York: Holt, 1915. Pp. 128. For important suggestions in connection with this review I am indebted to Professor S. P. Sherman, of the University of Illinois. Professor Kenneth McKenzie and other colleagues have likewise favored me with helpful criticism.

² Cf. Giraud, pp. 239, 259.

³ Giraud, p. 269.

⁴ G. Brandes, *Anatole France* (New York, 1908), p. 34 (where the date is incorrectly given as 1897).

passing moods, or are their tendencies fairly uniform? It is this problem that the three books here under discussion attempt to solve.

We shall first take up the views of the three critics on this most important issue, and try to reach some conclusion as to the essential quality of the work of Anatole France. We shall then pass to an examination of the three studies separately, in order to determine what light each may throw on such matters as the sources of Anatole France and the characteristics of his style.

M. Michaut's essay is intended to be exclusively psychological. He endeavors to analyze the traits of M. France's nature which appear at all periods of his career. The psychology of the author of *Thaïs* is discussed under three headings: *intelligence*, *imagination*, and *sens esthétique et sensibilité*. The following is a brief summary of the conclusions set forth. The intelligence of M. France, wide rather than deep, is that of a dilettante, not that of a systematic thinker. This incapacity for system explains his critical impressionism, his lack of a definite theory of literary values. He is, moreover, not merely incapable of systematizing ideas, but he is purposeless in his interest in ideas. He believes sentiment more important than reason, and has no hope of arriving at absolute truth. Consequently his erudition and his intellectual interests, ranging over all time and all being, natural or supernatural, are forms of idle curiosity. The skeptic regards the spectacle of the universe as meaningless, and is moved by it to irony and sympathy, to the irony which is the most obvious characteristic of his style and the sympathy which is the most pleasing trait of his personality. In the intellectual experiences referred to, all he seeks and all he remembers is his own pleasure; he gets no notion of external reality whatever, but sees only himself. Hence his critical work is an entirely subjective account of the "adventures of his soul," and his novels contain, aside from a few figures which interest him because of their contrast to himself (e.g., Lantaigne, Guitrel, Gamelin), no convincing characters except portraits of his own ego (Bonnard, Bergeret, Brotteaux). In other words, he is entirely lacking in creative imagination. He has no power to breathe life into the materials, derived from experience and literature, from which he constructs his works. This deficiency explains his critical sympathies. A man naturally tends to admire

those who resemble himself. M. France's lack of creative imagination forces him to restrict himself to a slavish reproduction of experience; consequently, he commends only such writers as give a faithful transcript of it, the classical school who portray universal verity, rather than the romantic school who give free rein to imagination. Though without the higher type of imagination, he has a high degree of fancy, which produces those unexpected associations of words and ideas that constitute much of the charm of his style. His ability, indeed, is chiefly stylistic; consequently he reserves his highest approval for merits of form, and prefers the men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who relied upon application, to the men of the nineteenth, who trusted to inspiration. The classicism just outlined becomes less narrow in his later phase. As a critic he is remarkable for the wide range of literature he studies; as a stylist he is notable for the great variety of writers he imitates. He succeeds, however, in fusing the elements derived from them into a style, having an originality of its own, defined as a certain sensuous appeal. The *sensualité* which his literary manner expresses is a fundamental element in his nature, and is at the bottom of all the psychological traits outlined. It also explains his inconsistencies. His change from an indifferent conservatism to a decided radicalism, for example, is due to his tardy recognition of the fact that traditional ideas in morals, philosophy, and religion are "hostiles au plaisir, ennemis de la volupté. . . . Son œuvre est vouée au Désir et à la Volupté."

Such is M. Michaut's conception of France's psychology. M. Giraud's work is much easier to follow. He uses the biographical method and manages expository narrative with skill. He divides the career of the author of the *Histoire contemporaine* into two periods: that previous to the outbreak of the *Affaire* in 1897, and that following it. He indicates certain changes which occurred during the first of these periods. Consequently it seems to me that a more satisfactory division might be a tripartite one: first, a period of dilettantism, ending in 1889, with the discussion over the *Disciple*; this is the period of *Sylvestre Bonnard*, and the dominating influence is that of Renan; secondly, a period of skepticism, ending in 1897, with the *Affaire*; this is the era of the *Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*, and Anatole France recalls Montaigne; thirdly, a period

of socialism; this is the epoch of the *Histoire contemporaine*, and during this phase France reminds one of Voltaire. Throughout all these variations Giraud finds that the character of Anatole France does not change fundamentally. The view of it presented is substantially in accord with that of Michaut, though Giraud's more natural plan and greater breadth of mind make his results seem more acceptable. He concludes that M. France's ideas are those of the eighteenth century, of Voltaire and Diderot. The author of the *Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* is essentially an anarchist, "le plus séduisant et le plus dangereux professeur d'anarchie que nous ayons eu depuis Renan."

Mr. George's hurried and somewhat flippant study likewise finds consistency in Anatole France. This consistency, however, is asserted rather than defined. The clearest statement of it seems to be that the "instinct" of the great ironist is "hedonistic," his "reason" humanitarian (p. 24). These tendencies pervade all his work, which is praised without reserve. Even *Les Dieux ont soif*, with its jarring note of hostility to the French Revolution, though preceded and followed by works of strongly socialistic character, can extort from Mr. George no admission of inconsistency: "Irony and pity, pity and hope, it is always the same gospel" (p. 87).

What are we to think of these three different conclusions? Are they hopelessly at variance with one another, or is it possible to disengage from them elements of truth that may be combined into a fairly accurate portrait? If we attempt to do the latter, we must not lose sight of the personal bias of the critics. M. Michaut, before becoming a teacher in the University of Paris, was a professor in the Catholic University of Fribourg in Switzerland. His critical position is that of Brunetière, the great opponent of Anatole France; in other words, he is a decided conservative in matters of religion and politics as well as in questions of literary taste. It has been said that the object of his book is "to undermine the tower of ivory and dethrone the great hereditary prince of the dilettantes."¹ The animus thus picturesquely characterized must not be left out of account in evaluating his conclusions. Nevertheless it is obvious that he is right in insisting upon the importance of the sensual ele-

¹ *The Nation*, XCVIII (1914), 404.

ment in M. France's nature. In this respect the bookseller's son resembles Chateaubriand, Flaubert, Sainte-Beuve. He himself does not scruple to say: "Le désir a conduit ma vie entière."¹ To proceed, however, as Michaut does, to derive all the tendencies of Anatole France's nature from this single source is carrying consistency too far. No one on this side of the Atlantic will readily believe that his lack of creative imagination, his intellectual curiosity, his pity for human misery, and his praise of suffering are all traceable to his sensuous nature.

Like M. Michaut, M. Giraud formerly taught in the Catholic University of Fribourg. He is at present an editor of the *Revue des deux mondes*. Brunetière, it will be remembered, directed this review for many years; it is not surprising, then, that M. Giraud should be as firm an adherent of Brunetière's doctrines as his predecessor. This fact suggests, as before, the need of caution in accepting his conclusions. Still, there can be little doubt that he is justified in stressing the connections of M. France with the eighteenth century. Consider his politics, for example. The man who planned an *Encyclopédie de la révolution* in 1868² and published three volumes of socialistic speeches in 1906 is evidently not an advocate of the *ancien régime*. Similarly, in religion, a certain emotional sympathy with Catholic Christianity which he shares with Renan does not alter the fact that both men are at bottom hostile to the church. Men in this country are surprised, nevertheless, to find Renan and France coupled as "anarchists," even if we take the word in a milder sense than it bears in English. We are not disposed to accept the antinomian writings of either as really representative. We do not find the true Renan in the *Abbesse de Jouarre*, nor the true Anatole France in the *Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*. France is not fundamentally an indifferentist.

Mr. George³ is clearly in the right in pointing out that there are elements in France's nature which are worthy of respect. The English writer properly emphasizes that sympathy with human misery

¹ Giraud, p. 179; cited from *L'Homme libre*, May 5, 1913.

² Giraud, p. 196.

³ An Englishman educated in France, Mr. George has published *France in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1909), and a number of novels. As he is a radical, the unduly laudatory tone of his *Anatole France* is not surprising.

which tempers the Frenchman's irony and produces his socialism. In this humanitarianism, which M. Giraud largely ignores, we find another eighteenth-century element. It leads us back to Rousseau, with whom M. France has closer affinities than has generally been admitted.¹

Further evidence that Anatole France's nature is not a shifting quicksand is afforded by his ethical attitude, of which one usually hears little. No one, to be sure, could be farther from being a moralist. Nevertheless he is not devoid of moral principle. It has been said of Lucian, with whom he has been so often compared: "En morale . . . son idéal se réduisait à vivre sagement. . . ."² Anatole France formulates his own morality in almost identical terms.³ He learned it in the garden of Epicurus.

The results we have just arrived at seem to give a reasonably clear portrait of Anatole France. He is physically a voluptuary, intellectually a Voltairian, emotionally a Rousseauist, ethically an Epicurean. These epithets are not all rigorously applicable, however. M. France himself states, for example,⁴ that his moral ideal is aesthetic rather than ethical. In so doing he leads us to the most permanent and significant element in his nature. None of the tendencies we have analyzed pervades his work so completely as does his love of the beautiful. There is no sensuality and no skepticism in *Abeille*, little humanitarianism and less morality in *Jérôme Coignard*. There is the passion for *le beau*, however, in every one of his books, from *La Légende de Sainte Radégonde* of 1859 to the *Sur la voie glorieuse* of 1915. He is aflame with that devotion to art which

¹ Cf. Giraud, pp. 234-35: "Du xviii^e siècle il accepte et goûte à peu près tout, sauf Rousseau, qu'il ne peut sentir," a notion Giraud supports only by a passage in the *Dieux ont soif* (p. 88; Giraud says wrongly, p. 148), in which Rousseau is called a *Jean-Jesse*, in connection with his idea of the goodness of primitive nature, which M. France has always repudiated. M. Giraud has overlooked the important passage, *Vie litt.*, I, 87-88 ("Jean-Jacques a . . . jeté par le monde, avec une éloquence enchanteresse, un sentiment nouveau d'amour et de pitié"), the theory of education set forth in *Sylvestre Bonnard* (pp. 152-53, ed. Wright), and the frequently stressed idea that sentiment is more important than reason (cf. Michaut, pp. 37-39). Note also that Anatole France has two busts of Rousseau in his sitting-room (Frank Harris, *Contemporary Portraits* [New York, 1915], p. 332).

² A. and M. Croiset, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature grecque* (7th ed., Paris, n.d.), p. 764.

³ Cf. the interesting interview recorded by Mr. Harris (*op. cit.*, p. 343). See also the articles published in regard to Bourget's *Disciple* (*Vie litt.*, III, 54-78).

⁴ Harris, *loc. cit.*

seems to burn brighter and purer in France than in any country of the modern world; he is a fanatic of that cult of the beautiful which lends dignity and meaning to the lives of Gautier and the Goncourts, of Maupassant and Flaubert. In his striving toward the aesthetic ideal he draws inspiration from the fountain-head at which all French writers have drunk since the Renaissance, from the literatures of Greece and Rome. So completely has this latter-day Alexandrian assimilated their content, and so perfectly has he reproduced their form, that that master of phrase, Jules Lemaitre, once called him *l'extrême fleur du génie latin*. M. France is an artist who takes his place in the classical tradition; this fact was uppermost in the mind of Lemaitre, as in the minds of most readers of Anatole France. Professor Babbitt has voiced their impression in the best definition of the author of *Thaïs* that has hitherto been proposed. M. France is a "humanistic aethete."¹

There is, then, a real unity in the life and works of Anatole France. If so, how are we to account for the inconsistencies noticed at the beginning of this review? In undertaking to explain them, it is important not to forget that we are dealing with an ironist. There is an old saying that irony is a knife without a handle; the ironist is frequently distressed to find himself taken literally. Anatole France does not expect his readers to accept his statements without reservation. In other words, as Professor Sherman acutely suggests, "the skepticism of M. France is largely a literary pose."² There is not a little of such affectation in the denial of the existence of literary standards. Anatole France hurled Georges Ohnet neck and crop *hors de la littérature*. How could he have done so if he did not believe in some generally acceptable measure of literary values? Like his critical impressionism, his historical impressionism is largely whimsical. No man who writes a book like *Jeanne d'Arc* believes real knowledge of the past impossible. The situation is somewhat different as regards his denial of the creative imagination. It may be that M. Michaut is right in thinking that the deficiency of M. France in the higher forms of this faculty leads him to deny their existence.

¹The Masters of Modern French Criticism (Boston, 1912), p. 321.

²The Nation, LXXXIX (1909), 96.

The inconsistencies as to militarism are real, but hardly difficult to understand nowadays. The more violent anti-militaristic utterances, moreover, date from the period of skepticism. Hence they are perhaps not to be taken too seriously.

The change from Christian praise of suffering to Epicurean praise of joy is part of a larger change in his attitude toward Catholicism. Before 1897, especially before 1889, he is agnostic but not unfriendly to the church; after 1897 he is violently anti-clerical. This religious shift synchronizes with the political metamorphosis from a conservative to a radical. It is to be explained in the same way. M. Michaut and M. Giraud think it a recrudescence of native tendencies to lawlessness and anarchy. He opposed the church and the nationalists because he feared that a victory for traditionalism would curtail his personal freedom of speech and action. Such an apprehension, it seems to me, would have been rather unfounded. M. Lanson and M. Pellissier would probably find in his change of front a reaffirmation of his original belief in the *philosophes* and the Revolution. They would say that he bravely espoused the cause of Dreyfus because he believed it the cause of justice and truth, and that he stoutly supported Combes and Jaurès because they represented his ideals of democracy and liberty. The second view is more likely to commend itself to Americans.

Such is the idea of Anatole France which one gathers from an unprejudiced perusal of his works, supplemented by the examination of the three books before us. Let us now proceed to a more minute study of these books themselves.

M. Michaut is known as an advocate of the scientific study of contemporary literature.¹ His work on Anatole France is his first attempt on a large scale at such a study of a living writer. One would expect work of this kind to be particularly profitable in regard to details of literary history which might otherwise soon be forgotten, and indeed it is precisely in this direction that the chief value of Michaut's book lies. The Parisian professor has examined with great industry files of old newspapers and reviews in which articles

¹ Cf. the address delivered at the opening session of the Faculté des Lettres in the University of Paris, November 5, 1905, and published in *Pages de critique et d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1910), pp. 3-37.

appeared which M. France never republished, articles which may some day disappear with the wretched paper on which they are printed. These articles have been particularly fertile in suggestions as to the sources of the larger works. M. Michaut noted, for example, that Anatole France twice mentions in the *Temps* the *Compère Mathieu*, an eighteenth-century novel of the Canon Dulaurens. An examination of this book revealed the fact that it exerted an important influence upon the *Rôtisserie*, particularly in furnishing models for the Abbé Jérôme Coignard. It appears also that M. France does not restrict himself to utilizing the works of others; he sometimes finds models in his own earlier productions. M. Michaut cites (pp. 187 ff.) a number of striking cases in which the author of *La Révolte des Anges* imitates his own works. He not only reworks plots and characters, but he frequently makes literal repetitions. An extensive list of these (Michaut, pp. 194 ff.) includes one case in which the same series of phrases appears five times!

As an aesthetic critic M. Michaut does little that is new, aside from emphasizing and giving copious examples of defects already noted by others. Occasionally one notes a new remark, however. Thus, the faults of taste pointed out on p. 235, n. 2, are real though rare, and have hitherto received little attention. Moreover, Michaut now and then hits off a trait with admirable felicity. In describing, for example, a passage in *Le Mannequin d'osier*, correctly characterized as an imitation of Zola, he says: "Je ne sais quelle mollesse se mêle à la matérialité du tableau. On dirait du Teniers traduit par quelque graveur habitué à reproduire en estampes les œuvres de Greuze ou de Fragonard" (p. 254, n. 1).

We have noted some of the directions in which M. Michaut's work will be found useful. It has also a number of defects which call for comment. In the study of sources, for instance, M. Michaut is more successful when he compares passages in the works of Anatole France than when he makes independent combinations of his own. The latter sometimes seem to be due to over-eagerness. One is not convinced that the passage in *M. Bergeret à Paris* cited on p. 129 is derived from St.-Simon. M. Michaut suggests, again (p. 167, n. 4), that the oft-recurring notion that war is not an art, but a game of chance, comes from an obscure work of Paul-Louis Courier. Since

we have abundant evidence of the influence of Tolstoi upon the author of the *Vie littéraire*,¹ it seems much more probable that M. France derived this idea from the author of *War and Peace*.² The Englishman of *Jocaste*, furthermore, reminds one as much of Sir Ralph Brown in George Sand's *Indiana* as of the type familiar in "nos petits journaux et nos caricaturistes" (p. 133). The indications of the sources of the poems (pp. 146 ff.) would gain by being made more precise. The notion that France copied the bookshop in the *Rôtisserie* and its sequel from Voltaire (p. 167) is source-hunting pushed to absurdity. A man born in a bookshop would hardly need a literary model in order to describe one. M. Michaut might have pointed out (p. 182) that the *Comédie de celui qui épousa une femme muette*, the most successful play of M. France, was not merely based on Rabelais, but undertaken for the entertainment of a meeting of the Société des études rabelaisiennes.³

Although, as a rule, M. Michaut has utilized very industriously the literature bearing on the borrowings of M. France, he has overlooked in the following cases notes of some value. Thus, he fails to cite the remarks in George Brandes' *Anatole France*,⁴ and those in R. Cor's *Anatole France et la poésie contemporaine*,⁵ and the interesting notes of Professor C. H. C. Wright.⁶ It may be noted in this connection that he inadvertently fails to state that he owes the indication of Daudet's influence upon *Jocaste* (p. 152), and the suggestion he elaborates connecting Jean Servien and Daniel Eyssette (p. 156), to the excellent article of M. Potez.⁷

Certain defects occasioned by M. Michaut's critical bias are more serious than his faults of omission. A certain lack of generosity,

¹ Cf. Michaut, pp. xxix and 86, for example.

² A remark of my colleague, Dr. J. Zeitlin, has led me to make this suggestion.

³ Cf. the translation of Professor Curtis Hidden Page (New York, 1915), p. 7. It is curious to note the strange statement (Michaut, p. 277, n. 2): "Il aime médiocrement Rabelais." Elsewhere (pp. 144, 145, 255, n. 1) M. Michaut notes that Rabelais has been one of France's chief models. It is particularly in his later phase that France has shown himself a most fervent Rabelaisian; the passages in the *Histoire contemporaine* will be familiar to the reader.

⁴ Ed. cited, pp. 42, 88, for example.

⁵ Ed. Paris, 1909, p. 32, n. 2 (Gallani and Voltaire's *Micromégas*).

⁶ Cf. his useful school edition of *Sylvestre Bonnard* (New York, 1904?), pp. 266, 271 (Chamfort, Reman).

⁷ *Mercrede France*, LXXXIV (1910), 11.

for example, appears in various references to details of M. France's life. Thus the difficulty with which he writes and the gradual progress by which his style attained "à la perfection ou même à la correction" (!)¹ is twice (p. 135, n. 5, p. 194) stressed, although, France himself, as Michaut notes (p. 225, n. 2), makes no secret of the fact that for him "easy reading's curst hard writing." One regrets that so much emphasis should be laid upon various more or less valid evidences that France feels he lacks social distinction (p. 73, n. 5).² On the various occasions on which Anatole France crossed swords with Brunetière, he treated his adversary with marked courtesy. M. Michaut endeavors to show that this suave manner cloaked rancorous hatred (pp. 293-94), but his exposition tends rather to convince an unprejudiced reader that the author of the *Vie littéraire* showed remarkable forbearance to a bitter opponent.

The hostility shown in the occasional remarks upon Anatole France's life appears even more clearly in the estimates of his works. Though some of the strictures are just, some seem to miss the mark. Thus the determined attack (pp. 137-39) upon the verisimilitude of that delightful trifle, *Crainquebille*, seems to indicate a certain lack of humor. M. France's repetitions are very numerous, it is true, but M. Michaut stresses them too much. The reader who does not read the works in close succession is not troubled by them. The critical articles are accused of being wearisome to read *seriatim*; there are few critical notices which are not! In general, M. Michaut, like other writers, seems to me to undervalue the critical work of M. France. It is true that many of the articles in the *Vie littéraire* have little or nothing to do with literary criticism; in other cases, however, the impressionist shows that he knows how to read and how to make others read. He has made possible a proper appreciation of the French classics for more readers than one. One does not see why the disconnected form of the *Jardin d'Epicure* is *cynique* (p. 142). Besides giving an accurate notion of the unsystematic tendencies

¹ There is a note of censoriousness in the criticisms (p. 112, n. 2): "Remarquer l'in correction: 'des petits carrés,'" and (p. 136, n. 2): "Remarquer encore l'in correction: 'des nouveaux venus.'"

² Curiously enough, nothing is said of the most striking passage in which France refers to the distress that may be caused by defects of manner. In *Les Sept Femmes de la Barbebleue*, Jeronimo, the talented statesman, "ne se console pas de manquer d'aristocratie et d'élégance. Il n'est pas heureux" (p. 212-3).

of M. France's intellect (p. 142), it expresses many of his most characteristic ideas and gives, of all his works, the clearest notion of the earlier phase of his philosophy of life. Much as one may dislike the unrelieved irony of the *Ile des Pingouins*, it is hardly "le plus médiocre de ses ouvrages" (p. 270); others might reserve that bad eminence for *M. Bergeret à Paris*. There is occasionally a certain condescension in the admiration expressed for this or that trait. We are told that M. France tells and retells the story of his early years "sans se lasser jamais—et, disons-le, sans nous lasser" (p. 98). The tone is a little patronizing in speaking of some of the most charming pictures of childhood in all literature.

The defects just noted suggest those of Brunetière. Michaut has also a share of the weaknesses noticeable in some of the disciples of M. Lanson, though not in their master. He has more than a touch of *fichomanie*. The heavy and inartistic accumulation of facts makes his book rather unattractive. It would have been better, for instance, to throw the long enumeration of repeated articles or portions of them (pp. 205 ff.) into an appendix, and make it complete, instead of merely *fastidieuse* (p. 209).¹

In a number of mechanical details M. Michaut's book is faulty in execution. He usually fails to give extracts from the newspaper articles referred to, though they are not readily accessible. He gives no index, though the great amount of erudite machinery in his book would seem to require one. The references to pages are by no means impeccable, and the quotations far from exact. Not infrequently passages are cited in quotation marks which are simply paraphrases or summaries of the original text. Some references are extremely vague, as, "Cf. *Débats*, 1912" (p. 284, n. 4). There are a considerable number of misprints. It is much to be desired that M. Michaut should publish a complete bibliography of Anatole France, indicating the subjects of all the articles interred in newspapers, pending their republication. His extensive labors in this field have doubtless supplied him with all the materials needed for such a list.

Such a bibliography would suitably form part of the biography of Anatole France which M. Michaut has in preparation. This

¹ Michaut fails to note, for example, that pp. 213-25 of the *Jardin d'Épicea* are repeated from the *Vie littéraire*, IV, pp. ii-x.

étude biographique, he promises us, will treat from a "dynamic" point of view the personality discussed in the present *étude psychologique* from a "static" point of view. It is to be regretted that M. Michaut should have planned two works rather than one. The reader of the present volume is hampered by the lack of biographical details, and the reader of the book to come will doubtless be annoyed by frequent references to its predecessor. The arrangement according to psychological topics, moreover, is infinitely less clear and natural than a narrative in historical sequence. Thus, in order to point out how this or that psychological trait leaves its impression in the writings of Anatole France, M. Michaut is forced to pass in review all the principal works of the master no less than five times. The plan likewise precludes the adequate discussion of the principal influences which molded the young Thibault—Taine, Renan, Sainte-Beuve, Leconte de Lisle.

M. Michaut's book is valuable chiefly for the light it casts upon the sources and literary methods of Anatole France. Many of the stylistic and structural defects it illustrates are real and justly emphasized. As an explanation of the personality of the author of the *Lys rouge*, *sensualité*, though containing a certain amount of truth, is not a satisfactory formula. The work is disfigured by prejudice and over-elaboration, and its plan does not permit a clear and complete treatment of the theme.

In the latter respect, as we have seen, M. Giraud's work is superior to that of his predecessor, being arranged in chronological order. It has other advantages over it, such as being more largely devoted to aesthetic criticism. Herein lies its chief value. Though M. Giraud reaches conclusions essentially similar to those of his predecessor, he is generally less prejudiced and less dominated by a theory. His praise is less grudging. "Il n'y a peut-être pas, dans toute la littérature française depuis *Dominique*, de roman aussi 'bien écrit' que le *Lys rouge*" (p. 252). His characterizations are generally just and often admirably expressed. France "est né miniaturiste, bien plutôt qu'artiste à fresque" (p. 245). Now and then Giraud corrects the judgment of Michaut, as when he notes that M. Fellaire de Sissac, whom his predecessor (p. 109) thinks a lay figure, is *un assez vivant fantoche* (p. 220), or in his fuller appreciation of the reality and relief of

many of the characters in the *Histoire contemporaine* (p. 275). There are good remarks upon stylistic details. It is pointed out, for instance (p. 249, n. 2), that France, like Loti, is fond of inclosing a substantive between two adjectives to secure an effect like that sought after by our "imagists."

M. Giraud's book is again in contrast to that of M. Michaut in giving much less attention to sources. Nevertheless there are occasional indications of interest in this connection. It is curious to learn that the title of the *Jardin d'Epicure* comes from Sainte-Beuve (p. 260), and it is suggestive to find the funeral of Chevalier in the *Histoire comique* compared with that of Désirée Delobelle in *Fromont jeune et Risler ainé* (p. 283). One would like to have evidence in support of the idea (p. 184) that the satirical portrait of a frivolous grandmother in the *Livre de mon ami* really depicts M. France's grandmother.

The less abundant information about sources in M. Giraud's book is due to the fact that he is interested primarily in ideas and aesthetic questions, and not to any lack of thoroughness. Like M. Michaut, the editor of the *Revue des deux mondes* has examined the whole corpus of M. France's works, including the articles in newspapers and periodicals which have not been reprinted. He gives extracts from those of the latter which he cites, being here again superior to his predecessor. Moreover, he has not neglected the prefaces to editions of French classics, which usually have received less attention than they deserve.

Such are the principal merits of M. Giraud's study. I have already touched upon its chief defect: a tendency to be unduly severe. This hostility does not show itself very clearly in the earlier part of the article. The sketch of Anatole France previous to 1897 is on the whole acceptable. One wishes that the author had been able to complete the study in the same style and spirit. Such is not the case. In treating of M. France the partisan, he himself becomes a partisan. The calm tone of the first part of the discussion disappears, and questions not directly related to literature occupy an unduly important place. In discussing *Jeanne d'Arc*, for example, the question of France's attitude toward the miraculous is treated at considerable length and with more than a little feeling. Political

considerations also enter into this part of the book, sometimes with amusing results. In order to demonstrate that France is an "anarchist," we are impressively informed that a copy of *Crainquebille* was found in the "repaire" of "un des plus sinistres compagnons de la bande tragique" (p. 282)! One wonders whether *Crainquebille* had anything to do with his sinistrosity!

Though the occasional remarks upon points of literary history and biography are as a rule accurate, a few of them call for some revision. One is a little surprised that M. Giraud finds France's attachment to the eighteenth century somewhat perplexing. He suggests, among other explanations (p. 195), a reaction against the family, his father having been a legitimist. With the abundance of eighteenth-century literature surrounding the young Thibault¹ and the republican tendencies rife among the youth of the later Empire, to which M. Giraud alludes, one does not find much difficulty in understanding the attitude of the author of the *Rôtisserie*. M. Giraud is a little severe (p. 211) in his strictures upon France's erudition; whatever his deficiencies, the man who wrote *Thaïs* is assuredly more learned than most men of letters of his rank. I have heard one of the most distinguished Hellenists living refer to France as a "great scholar."

M. Giraud's suggestion (p. 286) that *Jeanne d'Arc* dates in part from a long time before the period of its publication might have been further supported by the statement made by M. du Bled in September, 1887,² that the author of *Sylvestre Bonnard* was preparing a *Jeanne d'Arc*. M. du Bled also states that France was writing a book to be called *Les Autels de la Peur*, which M. Michaut identifies with *Les Dieux ont soif*. It will be remembered that *Les Dieux ont soif* (1912), though preceded and followed by definitely socialistic utterances, sounds a discordant note of utter disillusionment. Is it not probable that this anomaly is to be explained by the fact that the story was in large part written many years before it was published?

¹ Cf. M. Lanson's keen remark (*Pages choisies d'Anatole France* [Paris, 1898], p. iii) that the books commonest on the Quai Malakal are eighteenth-century works and theological literature. Consequently, Lanson thinks, France developed "une irréductible incrédulité et une sympathique intelligence des formes de la foi." M. H.-M. Casset (*Anatole France* [Angers, 1915], p. 14) attributes France's sympathy with the Revolution to the influence of his friend Etienne Charavay.

² *Revue illustrée*, cited by Michaut, p. 225, n. 2.

It is surprising that M. Giraud cites (p. 181, n. 1) only the bibliography of Le Brun,¹ but not the fuller one given by R. Cor.² There are occasional lapses in references, and a few misprints.

M. Giraud is right in stressing Anatole France's connections with the eighteenth century. He gives aesthetic estimates of the earlier works which are as a rule admirable in accuracy and style. His idea that M. France is an anarchist, however, seems unacceptable, and his appreciations of the later books are clouded by partisan feeling.

The third book before us, that of Mr. George, is of little value. It is interesting chiefly for its eccentricities. It is diverting to read that France's characters are "unusually living" (p. 103), and entertaining to hear (p. 26) that "he may share the fate of Flaubert, who is menaced; of de Maupassant, who is going; . . . of Tolstoy, convicted as a moralist . . .". The discovery that the Utopia in *Sur la pierre blanche* is "very different from Mr. Wells'" (p. 97), on which it is obviously modeled, is unexpected. The style is marked by an undignified striving for effect. ". . . Everything was done to keep him down: the Académie française went so far as to give him a prize" (p. 11).

To sum up the foregoing review, M. Michaut's book is of use especially for information as to sources; M. Giraud's study is of value particularly for aesthetic criticism; Mr. George's volume is of interest as an expression of uncritical admiration. M. Michaut terms Anatole France a sensualist; M. Giraud calls him an anarchist; Mr. George thinks him a hedonistic humanitarian. All of these formulae contain elements of truth; none of them is entirely acceptable. The best statement we have is that of Professor Babbitt: M. France is a humanistic aethete. As we have said, we may define some others of his more important traits with fair accuracy thus: he is physically a voluptuary, intellectually a Voltairian, emotionally a Rousseauist, and morally an Epicurean.

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¹ Published in his *Anatole France*, in the series entitled "Célébrités d'aujourd'hui" (Paris, 1904).

² *M. Anatole France et la pensée contemporaine* (Paris, 1909), pp. 85-92.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Les Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur le Cid. Edited with an Introduction by COLBERT SEARLES. Bulletin of the University of Minnesota, March, 1916. Pp. 112.

This is the most recent, and to students of Corneille by far the most important, of four contributions¹ by Professor Searles to the question of the *Sentiments*. It makes accessible for the first time under one cover, and in parallel columns, sometimes as many as five of them, all the versions of the document, from Chapelain's first draft to the final printed form, and, by means of nine plates, conveys an adequate notion of the extensive revision which the Academy's verdict on the *Cid* underwent. Especially interesting are the reproductions of the *apostilles* in the hands of Richelieu and his physician, Citois.² The editor points out (p. 5) that all the versions are in Chapelain's writing, thus making all the more evident the real authorship of the *Sentiments* and the results of the cardinal's supervision at the various stages of editing.

In the first and third of the contributions referred to above, Professor Searles undertakes to correct some current errors in regard to the history of the *Sentiments*—errors of fact, and wrong interpretations of the attitude of some of the persons most concerned. Thus, by a careful re-examination of Corneille's outburst in the *Excuse à Ariste*, he would show that Mairet and Scudéry, in their subsequent attacks on the poet, were prompted by a most natural anger and not entirely by fruitless envy. This is acceptable. Here and elsewhere Professor Searles reminds us that subsequent critics have been inclined to explain too easily the anger of these poets as mere jealousy,

¹ The other three are: (1) "Commentary on vss. 36-52 of the *Excuse à Ariste*, Matzke Memorial Volume, 1911; (2) "Italian Influences as Seen in the *Sentiments* of the French Academy on the *Cid*," *Romanic Review*, 1912, pp. 362-90; (3) "L'Académie Française et le *Cid*," *Revue d'histoire littéraire*, 1914, pp. 331 ff.

² There is an evident omission of the words *les contestations sur*, on pp. 6 and 18, in the transcription of Citois's note (Plate II) in regard to the Italian disputes. The only other errors noted are a period for a comma (p. 21, l. 16, col. 2) and *ne* for *ne* (p. 85, col. 4). However, I appeal to Professor Searles for aid in getting a better reading for Citois's second note than the one adopted by him (p. 7) and Marty-Laveaux (III, 34, n. 1): "Faut voir si la pièce le dit; car si cela n'est point on aurait tort de faire à (?) croire à Rodrigue qu'il voulust tuer le Conte, puisqu'on fait souvent en telles occasions ce qu'on ne veut pas faire." That *croire* is nonsense, and the word is manifestly not *croire*, but I have not made it out.

unmindful of the fact that until the *Cid* took Paris off its feet, Mairet and Scudéry were quite as important in the literary world as Corneille. But the conjectures which he offers in explanation of the offensive tone of the *Excuse à Aristé* are not so convincing. The first is that Scudéry was responsible for getting Desmarests to erase from his *Visionnaires* a passage favorable to Corneille, the second that a passage in a letter of Balzac, 1636, in praise of Mondory's power of adding charm to the lines of a play, was seized upon by the *Cid's* enemies as accounting in large part for its beauty on the stage, which roused the poet to protest that his pen was esteemed only for the beauty of the verses it produced, and that he was indebted only to himself for his renown.

The study contributed to the *Revue d'histoire littéraire* contains really two articles, one of which might be fittingly called "Richelieu and the *Cid*," the other, "The Academy and the *Cid*." The first of these takes up the cudgels against the accepted belief that Richelieu was hostile to the *Cid* on political, personal, and literary grounds. The jealous-author story rests almost entirely on Voltaire's authority, for which no support is forthcoming. No contemporary authors bear out the other items of the charge against the Cardinal, whereas his favors to the poet are on record. His wish that the Academy should judge the *Cid* may be explained by two considerations: (1) he desired to demonstrate the non-political character of the body; (2) having been indoctrinated by Chapelain with opinions on the unities and on the way such questions were handled in Italy, and believing that the *Cid* was faulty in this respect, it seemed fitting that the French Academy should take up the matter in due form. When Professor Searles comes later to study the various versions of the *Sentiments* he finds additional support for his belief that Richelieu's interest in the question was almost entirely literary in the fact that certain severe passages of the first version disappear as a result of the revisions. This does not, he observes, look like hostility on the part of the Cardinal.

There is small doubt that this study does bring some corrections in regard to Richelieu's rôle and his motives, but a consideration of the few and guarded utterances of the poet at this period (some fragments of letters in *Oeuvres* [Gr. Ecr.], X, 429 and 431), and of those that came after Richelieu's death in 1642 (Vers, X, 86; Sonnet, *ibid.*, p. 87; *Avertissement du Cid*, III, 84, 85), makes it clear that the Cardinal's part in the affair seemed tremendous in Corneille's eyes; the great man's motives and interests may have been purely literary, but the effect on the poet indicates that his method of procedure was suggestive rather of the strong arm than of dispassionate critical analysis.

In the second part of this article Professor Searles reviews the history of the Academy's connection with the *Cid*. He points out certain errors in the current version, proves ingeniously the truth of Corneille's contention

that he did not give his consent to the examination of his play,¹ and generally sets to rights the minutiae of this very much tangled affair.²

The next of these publications in logical order is the latest in point of time. The Introduction, in which are embodied the results reached in the foregoing studies, contains a concise review of the history of the *Sentiments* and a brief study of Chapelain's MS. Here, as has been remarked, Professor Searles finds new evidence for his view of Richelieu's attitude. It is negative, to be sure, but it is more convincing than that contained in the other articles; unfortunately, however, such a comparison of the various versions, if carried further, will furnish quite as good arguments to substantiate Richelieu's hostility to the *Cid*, so that no real light is thrown on that matter.

The editor considers that the *Sentiments* mark a date as determining the victory of classicism, and as being "among the earliest of those pen-scarred fields" on which Frenchmen have fought for perfection of form; but neither one of these matters is developed in this study. Perhaps they are to be examined later. Without entering into a comparison of the various texts, I may say in passing that the chief differences between the versions are to be found in the preamble—which, in the course of the revisions, has become a much more efficient machine for preparing to condemn the *Cid*—but that nearly all the changes, except a few *poignées de fleurs* demanded by the Cardinal, make for clarity of thought and language. In fact, the style of the final draft is sufficiently better than Chapelain's first version to constitute a real tribute to the Cardinal's literary sense, if the alterations are due to his influence.

The last of these studies, if considered in logical order, is Professor Searles' examination of the sources of the *Sentiments*. Realizing that Chapelain was largely responsible for the verdict, it occurred to him that a study of the Italian treatises on poetics known to have been in that worthy's library ought to throw some light on his inspiration. This expectation has been amply justified, and Professor Searles has found, almost point for point, in the Italian doctrinaires, unusually convincing precedents for the views in the *Sentiments*. Even some of the quite unimportant features—as when the Academy reproaches Scudéry for not ordering his *Observations* in the true Aristotelian manner—are shown to have had a counterpart in former contentions of a like nature, and the more significant utterances on *vraisemblance*, on utility versus profit, on the proper reward for virtue and vice, on what

¹ By clever handling of all accessible evidence Professor Searles shows that the Academy began its consideration of the play earlier than is supposed, that the oft-mentioned statute forbidding such undertakings as this did not exist at this time, and (p. 344) that a fragment of a letter quoted by Pellisson (*Gr. Et.*, X, 432) to support the charge against the cardinal really refers to Chapelain and d'Aubignac.

² Professor Searles does not smooth his readers' way through this maze by any concessions of style and arrangement, such as preliminary statements of theses, transition words and sentences, or summaries. This makes him difficult to follow.

are fit subjects for a play, are all accounted for. The few rather doubtful parallels (e.g., p. 370, Piccolimini; p. 383, L. Pinciano) do not imperil the author's argument. It is not amiss to point out, however, that Seudéry's much-despised *Observations* contained in essence the same doctrine as the *Sentiments*, which is to say that this sort of thing was sufficiently common in the literary smart sets of the day to make it dangerous to overemphasize Chapelain's rôle as an intermediary between the teachings of the Italian doctrinaires and French classicism.

In these four contributions to the study of a subject that has little intrinsic interest except in its broader relations, Professor Searles shows great diligence and untiring patience in handling the mass of details, and gives proof in several instances of real detective skill. Two of the studies, the source examination in the *Romanic Review* and the edition of all the versions of the *Sentiments*, may be said to mark real progress toward understanding the Academy's judgment in all its bearings.

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